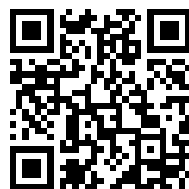

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TWO LECTURES
ON
ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS,



AND ON THE
ART OF ILLUMINATION.

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A L E C T U R E
ON SOME OF
THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES
OF
ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS,
FROM THE VIII. TO THE XVIII. CENTURY;

BY
RICHARD THOMSON,
LIBRARIAN OF THE LONDON INSTITUTION.

AS DELIVERED IN THE THEATRE OF
THE LONDON INSTITUTION,

ON WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21st, 1857,

BY
WILLIAM TITE, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
HONORARY SECRETARY.

TO WHICH IS ADDED
A SECOND LECTURE
ON
THE MATERIALS AND PRACTICE OF
ILLUMINATORS:
WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY NOTICES
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
ART OF ILLUMINATION.

LONDON.

M.DCCC.LVII.

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PRINTED FOR THE LONDON INSTITUTION BY CHARLES SKIFFER AND EAST ST. DUNSTON'S HILL.

INTRODUCTORY PREFACE.

IN presenting to the PROPRIETORS OF THE LONDON INSTITUTION the Lectures or Essays which follow this Introduction,—it may appear desirable that the circumstances which led, first to their being prepared, and then to their being subsequently printed, should be previously explained. Those circumstances were as follow.

In arranging the subjects of Lecture for the session of 1856—1857, the General-Purpose Committee of Managers had to consider the Lectures or Papers to be provided for the ensuing Five Soirées; and it was agreed that, if possible, they should all be delivered by Members of the Board of Management. In pursuance of this arrangement, I undertook to give the First of the series; and I had accordingly proceeded to some extent in the preparation of my paper. At that time, however, I was very much interrupted by public business; and it occurred to me that our Librarian, MR. THOMSON, possessed a variety of information of the most valuable description, on the subject of ANCIENT ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS, which might be well, if not copiously, illustrated from the stores of the Library of our Institution, and also from my own collection. I was consequently desirous of transferring my undertaking for the Soirée-Lecture to my Friend; but though he willingly adopted the suggestion, he declined to deliver the discourse:

and I therefore had the gratification of reading his paper, and of illustrating it with such remarks as seemed to me to be required by the specimens which we produced.

The Essay was received with so much favour, and the information which it contained appeared to be so valuable and curious, that the Committee of Management resolved on permanently preserving it for the use of the Proprietors; and in their Annual Report of April 8th, 1857, they announced that it was to be printed.

In preparing this Lecture for the press, Mr. Thomson has, however, at the request of the Committee, availed himself of the opportunity of continuing the subject in a Second Essay, containing an account of the Materials and Methods of Painting employed by the Illuminators of the Middle-Ages; with a Review of some of the principal Artists and of the Literature of the Art. The Managers are inclined to believe that this part of the ensuing Tract will be found to possess a value greater than even that of the general history; as it contains a considerable amount of curious and varied information, on a subject which is now of almost general interest, and which cannot be found in a collected form elsewhere. The Managers have much gratification in thus presenting the complete work to the Proprietors, and it is impossible to conclude this Introduction, without expressing their Thanks to Mr. Thomson for his exertions in producing these papers.

WILLIAM TITE, HON. SEC.

* * I was very much disinclined to add a word to that which my Friend, the Honorary-Secretary, has said in the preceding address; but it is especially due to him to state that his share

in the following Lectures is far greater than the mere fact of his kindly reading my paper. He suggested the subject, and sketched the scheme of it; he illustrated it by the Manuscript treasures of his own Library; and, at the reading, his acquaintance with those volumes and his remarks on them, supplied the most valuable commentary. All his observations and notices are now incorporated in the First Lecture. The Second Lecture was also included in the original plan; but it will be seen that the subject was very much too extensive to be illustrated in one evening.

In preparing these papers for the press, the draughts and proofs were regularly submitted to Mr. Tite, and his numerous suggestions and the facts which he pointed out, have been all adopted and inserted.

The Essays comprised in the present Tract were still farther extended, on the recommendation of an esteemed Manager of this Institution, to whom the Fine-Arts and Literature are equally interesting and familiar. He expressed an earnest desire that the Names, Works, and Memoirs, of such Illuminators as are by any means known, should be preserved, if not rescued from oblivion,—in these pages. To him therefore must be attributed, in almost the very words of Johnson, whatever pleasure or weariness the reader may find, in the perusal of the following notices of Don Silvestro and Attavante, of Giulio Clovio and the Monk of the Golden Islands.

The descriptive Catalogue of Books and Memoirs relating to Illuminated Manuscripts, with which the Tract concludes, was added with the intention of collecting and preserving such curious and exclusive bibliographical information from being entirely lost. These Treatises, therefore, now contain the united knowledge of Mr. Tite and myself on the several subjects to which they refer; and we venture to believe that,

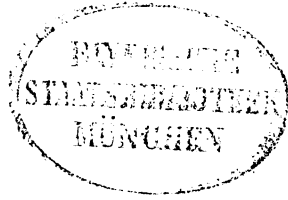
for their extent, they are tolerably complete. If both of us could have formed a wish for their farther improvement, it must have been to have seen them decorated with some characteristic specimens of the beautiful Art which we have attempted to illustrate ; but the very nature and form of this work, and the expense of such embellishments, properly executed, rendered their introduction altogether impossible.

RICHARD THOMSON, LIBRARIAN.

LONDON INSTITUTION,
December 1857.

LECTURE I.

ON SOME OF



THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES

OF

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS,

FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.—Superiority of Modern knowledge and illustration of Antiquities to that of past periods; especially in respect of Ancient Manuscripts. The distinction still more certain in respect of Decorated-Manuscripts, as representing a well-known state of the Arts at different periods.—The subjects of the present Lecture defined.

Richly-ornamented Manuscripts found at Two very *distant*, though *distinct* Ages: in the Egyptian Papyri, and in the Gold-Writing of the Byzantine Greek Empire.

Notices and Specimens of Egyptian Papyri with Drawings.

Notices and Specimens of Roman Manuscripts Illustrated with Drawings.

The Art of Illumination developed and encouraged by Improvements in the Art of Writing.

Different Species of Letters used by the later Greeks and Romans. Manuscripts written with Gold and Silver Inks.

Excessive use of Gold with Coloured Ornaments in the Byzantine-school of Painting.

Illuminated Initial Letters introduced.

Superior state of the Art of Illumination in the Tenth Century.

The Duke of Devonshire's Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, executed about A.D. 978, and similar manuscripts of the same period.

Peculiarities of the Illuminating-Art in the Thirteenth Century.

Modern Gothic Writing in the close of the Thirteenth Century.

The Religious-Ideal of Illuminators and Painters defined in the Thirteenth Century, by Cardinal Bonaventura.

General features of Illuminations in the Fourteenth Century.

Mural-Paintings in St. Stephen's Chapel, decorated by Henry III.

Historical Miniatures.—Illuminated Statutes of the Order of St. Esprit, A.D. 1352.

Initial-Letters and Borders, the most peculiarly distinguishing features of Illuminated Manuscripts.—Character of the Borders of this period.

Borders of the Fifteenth century, with the introduction of Flowers and Mediæval-Botany, Insects, and Birds.

Richness of the Paintings in small Italian and Flemish Books of Offices.—The Italian Branch Border: The German Oak, or Forest-Border: Cordon and Scroll Borders.

Arabesque-Borders of the School of Raffaele.

General use of Illuminations in every kind of Manuscript in the Fifteenth century.

Monastic Obituary-Rolls Illuminated.

Great Improvement in Illuminating and Miniature-Painting in the Sixteenth Century in the Venetian *Libri Ducali*.

Connection formed between the Illuminations of Manuscripts and the New Art of Typography.

Close resemblance between ordinary Illuminated Manuscripts and Painted Books Printed on Vellum.

Illuminations in Early Printed Books in Italy.

Early Printed Books with Decorated Borders engraven on Wood.

The Dance of Death and Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book, 1569.

Albert Durer's Prayer Book, 1515.

Sturt's Copper Plate Common Prayer Book, 1717.

Last appearance of the practice of Illumination, in the Versailles Service-books and Manuscripts for Devotion of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

French *Heures Burinées* of the Seventeenth Century.

Illuminated Ornaments in the *Camaieu* style at this period.

Materials extant relating to the Literature and Technical History of the Art of Illuminating.

Influence of the Illumination of Manuscripts on Literature and Art.

Alfred's Encouragement of Learning probably first excited by an Illuminated Manuscript.

CONCLUSION.

I.

ON SOME OF THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS, FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

It is one of the most remarkable features of the present state of the Advancement of Knowledge,—that in proportion as we recede from the ages of Antiquity, our acquaintance with them seems to become more minute, vivid, and accurate, than it was at any time before. Former difficulties are now readily explained; popular errors, of long standing and deeply-seated tenacity, are now traced to their sources and exploded; and many unexpected illustrations are evolved, even from materials previously well known to be extant, although the deductions now derived from them were never before arrived at.

In every department of the study of History and Antiquities, these singularly-curious results have been found, more or less uniformly, though always most decidedly, to prevail. But perhaps they have not been demonstrated in any instance more remarkably or powerfully, than in the critical knowledge which is at the present time so generally diffused relating to Ancient Manuscripts; with which the subject of this Evening's Address is intimately connected.

It is a very remarkable circumstance in the history of *Palæography*, or Ancient Writing, to find so experienced a person as David Casley, the Deputy-Keeper of the Royal Library, speaking with such caution as to the principles which he had adopted, in the infancy of the science, for estimating the age of a manuscript. "I have studied that point so much," says he, in his Preface to the Catalogue of the Royal Manuscripts, printed in 1734,—“and have so often compared *Manuscripts without Date*, with those that have happened to have a date, that I have little doubt as to that particular. Nay, as by looking in people's faces most men are able to guess right, that this person is about forty, that about fifty, and another about sixty, without being able to give any reason for those guesses; so *I think, that by frequent inspections, I have attained the Faculty of Guessing the Age of Manuscripts*; and that even before I search more narrowly for certain *criteria* of their age.”

The Art which was thus cautiously developed by Casley, has become, a century and a quarter afterwards, a certain and well-defined system, by which the age of any written document or volume can be immediately determined. The material on which a manuscript is executed; the dimensions and shape of it; the colour of the ink with which it is written; the form, size, rudeness, or elegance, of the characters; the contractions and connection of words; and the ligatures of combined-letters;—all constitute so many tests of the antiquity of the work, and generally lead to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion. It should always, however, be very gratefully remembered, that the labours of the *Original Record-Commission* most importantly contributed to this result: for, at a time when the knowledge of Legal-Palæography was confined to a very few individuals, the Commissioners encouraged and formed a number of superior Record-scholars, and provided the means of rendering the peculiarities of Ancient Writing generally familiar, both for their own time and also for the future.

But if the date of the Manuscripts of the Middle-ages can be readily distinguished by the Hand-Writing and external appearance, they become still more characteristic of the period to which

they belong, when they are decorated with Ornamented Letters or Illuminations, which exhibit the state of the Fine-Arts in their respective times and countries in the most lively and familiar manner. It is to this elegant and interesting division of the science of Palæography, that we now invite your attention, whilst we endeavour to place before you a short Illustrated Review of the ancient practice of Ornamenting Manuscripts; of the Progress of the Art of Illuminating, until it reached its highest degrees of perfection in the close of the Fourteenth century, the Fifteenth century, and the commencement of the Sixteenth; of its gradual decline and disuse, as Printing became general; of the last traces of Painted and Marginal-Decorations of books, as they are exhibited in some of the Earliest Specimens of Typography with Engraved Borders; and in the French Illuminations of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries.

In a Second Section of this enquiry, we shall attempt to furnish some information of the Materials employed by the Illuminators of the Middle-ages, and also of their presumed System of Painting, derived from Contemporaneous Authorities. To this will succeed some Notices of such Artists as are known to have been eminent in the Decoration of Manuscripts; and, in conclusion, will be given an account of the Literature of the Art, or of such Printed works as relate to the subject, and such Copies of Illuminations as have been hitherto published. But we will not occupy your attention with any merely technical descriptions of manuscripts; nor even with the principles or rudiments of Palæography, for judging of their antiquity; excepting only as they may be naturally connected with the subject of Illumination.

The works which furnish the materials for these historical sketches, are at the present time both numerous and beautiful; and altogether such as Thirty Years since could never have been published, and perhaps scarcely imagined, as Illustrated Publications. The sources to which we are chiefly indebted for the materials of this Lecture and the Illustrations now to be laid before you, are the splendid volumes of Silvestre, Viel-Castel, Noel Humphreys, Shaw, and others; in addition to many fine

original Illuminated Manuscripts of the best periods, supplied from my own Library. And I also willingly acknowledge the valuable assistance derived from Sir Frederick Madden's excellent English edition of the explanatory text of Silvestre's "*Paléographie Universelle*."¹

The many notices which are now extant of the ancient materials used for writing, and of the Characters which were peculiar to some certain periods of Antiquity, supply us with Two very important starting-points in the history of Illuminated Manuscripts; as representing *Two definite Ages, in which highly Decorated Volumes did actually exist*. The First of these goes back to the times of the Egyptian Papyri, probably *Sixteen Centuries Before the Christian Era*; and the Second commences with the *Chrysography*, or Gold-Writing, of the Greek Manuscripts, between the Fifth and the Eighth Centuries of the Year of our Lord.

The most ancient rolls of Egyptian Papyrus, exhibit nothing more than occasional *Rubrics*, or passages written in red, with some rude drawings, generally in outline, traced with a Nile-reed formed into a pen, representing those mystical scenes which the Egyptian Mythology connected with the Progress of the Soul After Death. But sometimes these papyri are magnificent volumes, comprising the whole Funeral-Ritual, splendidly painted and gilt, and extending to upwards of sixty-five feet in length.²

We have here an excellent Fac-simile of part of a very fine Papyrus of the plainer kind,³ preserved in the Museum of the Louvre; the illustrations of which consist of careful outlines drawn with a reed-pen. This manuscript is one of those Rituals commonly enclosed in the mummy-coffins; and it is remarkable for the whiteness and flexibility of the papyrus, as well as for its preservation and length, which is not less than forty feet. It is, however, farther remarkable, for containing some directions to

¹ Lond. 1850. 8vo. 2 Vols.

² Silvestre *Paléographie Universelle*, Paris, 1839-1842. Fol. 4 Vols. Text to Plate LIX. Madden, Vol. i. p. 156.

³ Silvestre *Paléogr. Univ.* Plates XLIV-XLVI. Madden, i. p. 112.

the Illuminator, which probably render it unique in its kind. The scribe who wrote the text had traced out the compartments intended to receive the drawings proper to these manuscripts, but as their number and variety were very considerable, the artist is here directed as to the subject to be inserted in each, by a small slight sketch placed in the upper angle: as may be seen in this division, containing the three boats. The age of this Papyrus is considered to be of the *Sixteenth or Seventeenth century Before the Christian Era*: but down to the beginning of the *Sixteenth century, Anno Domini*, the writers of manuscripts were accustomed to insert a small letter for the direction of the Illuminator wherever he was to place a painted initial.

I will next lay before you a copy of one of the finest specimens of this kind of Illuminated Manuscripts now known to be extant, and of the same age as the preceding. It was found at Thebes, during the Expedition of the French to Egypt in 1798, and was published entire in a coloured Fac-simile in the *Description de l'Égypte*, issued by the Imperial Government in 1812.⁴ This Manuscript is usually known by the name of the Great Hieratic or Funeral-Ritual; but the ancient Egyptians are said to have called it "*The Book of Manifestations to the Light*." It consists of a series of religious scenes, containing a considerable number of figures of human beings and animals, drawn with a reed-pen, and brilliantly coloured, especially as to the white and scarlet, extending along the whole of the upper part of the manuscript; which is still forty-four feet in length, though it is now imperfect. The drawings represent the Soul of a Deceased person, clothed in a long white robe, with elevated hands making offerings and prayers to the Egyptian Divinities. Below the figures are the prayers or addresses of the departed individual, written in narrow, parallel, vertical columns, with numerous rubrics interspersed. It is indicated that this text is to be read from the right hand to the left, by the figures in the illuminations being generally drawn looking to the right side.

⁴ *Description de l'Égypte*.—Planches, Antiquités, Tome ii. Pl. 72-75.

⁵ Silvestre, Plate xlv. Madden, i. p. 111.

It is very probable that the style of Art exhibited in some of these Papyri, may convey an accurate notion of the drawings recorded to have been contained in certain Roman manuscripts no longer in existence. Pliny states, that Varro wrote the lives of seven hundred illustrious Romans, which were decorated with their effigies;⁶ and Cornelius Nepos relates that Pomponius Atticus was the author of a work on the actions of great men, also enriched with their portraits.⁷ Brotier, in his edition of Pliny, conjectures, with great probability, that these drawings were executed with a pen; and it is perhaps equally probable that they were delineated in a strong, bold, characteristic outline, having the names of the persons whom they were intended to represent written above them. If this conjecture be accurate, it is farther possible that we may form a very good conception of those effigies and portraits, from the interesting figures delineated in the celebrated Manuscript copies of the Comedies of Terence, preserved in the Vatican Library, and the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, both of which are ascribed to the Ninth century. In these Illustrations selected from Silvestre's *Paléographie*,⁸ we have Fac-similes of pages taken from each of those manuscripts: and the French Editors of that work are inclined to consider the Paris Terence not only as the more ancient of the two, but "that the numerous drawings of the Vatican manuscript, are copies of those, of which the Paris manuscript, chronologically speaking, furnishes the originals."

The Vatican volume is a broad and tall folio, whilst the shape of the Paris manuscript is smaller and nearly square; a form which the Benedictines considered as indicative of greater antiquity. The text of each book, is written in two different sizes of the character called "*Caroline Minuscules*," with the names of the actors inserted in red Rustic Roman Capitals; but in the Paris manuscript the letters are more clear and graceful than they are in the Roman volume, the words are not divided, and there are neither contractions, scholia, nor marks of punctuation; all which later characteristics

⁶ *Historia Naturalis*, LXXXV. c. ii. *ad finem*.

⁷ *Vita T. P. Attici*, ex Corn. Nep. xviii.

⁸ Silvestre, *Plates* cxxviii. cxxix. Madden, i. p. 345-350.

are found in the Terence of the Vatican. The figures in the French manuscript are drawn with a pen, and on several of the pages are delineated the masks proper to be worn by the performers; but in the Vatican copy the actors are painted in a heavy, though not in an unharmonious colouring, in some parts heightened with white. This style of illumination, however, was proper to a period much earlier than the time of these volumes, as may be seen in the Fac-simile which I now place before you, taken from a Manuscript Virgil of the Fifth century, also preserved in the Vatican Library. It is written in Roman Rustic Capitals, with rubrics, and is decorated with paintings; one of which is copied by Silvestre, representing three shepherds with their flocks, taken from the Third Eclogue of the Poet.*

In leaving these remains of ancient Roman Illuminations, I may observe that the scene taken out of the Terence of the Vatican, is from the fifth act of *The Adelphi*; and that drawn from the Paris Manuscript represents the last scene of *The Andria*. In the illustrations of both volumes, the costume approaches so nearly to the well-known characteristics of ancient habits, as to lead to the inference that the drawings might be traditional copies taken from more ancient authorities; and ultimately reaching back even to the days of Terence. The peculiarity of the Roman masks, some of which covered the whole head like a helmet, is especially represented; with the large mouth-piece, and the small round orifice, by which the voice of the actor was condensed and enabled to reach the most distant spectators.

But it is principally to the Improvement of the Art of Writing, that the practice of Illuminating Manuscripts is most directly to be traced. From a very early period, both the Greeks and Romans were accustomed to employ a variety of larger, or capital letters, in some of their manuscripts, which were usually formed with great care and accuracy. A smaller character of an intermediate size, is to be found in less important books; and still smaller letters were also used, for notes, corrections, explanations, and interlineations; and especially for the completion of a line;

* Silvestre, Plate cii. Madden, i. p. 275.

which, according to the Hebrew practice of writing, was never ended with an incomplete word. Records and more important manuscripts, were, however, transcribed in such large and stately letters as were subsequently employed for the titles and commencements of books, chapters, and paragraphs, whence they ultimately received the name of *Initials*, or Beginnings. In the Fourth century another kind of large formal writing had made its appearance called the *Uncial*, which was soon very generally adopted, and continued in use to the middle of the Eighth century. It seems to have been modelled on a Greek character which was much more ancient; and the peculiarity of the letter was a general squareness of proportion and thickness in the down-strokes, as if the manuscript had been executed with a reed pen.

I have been thus precise in describing to you the peculiar appearance of this character, in order that you might understand how especially adapted it was to be written in a more lustrous ink than the lamp-black and gum which formed the ancient *Atramentum*. It is not my intention to lead you at any length into the disputed question whether *Uncial* and *Initial* letters were not identical; nor to the several nice distinctions between the characters called *Majuscules* and *Minuscules*, all of which are to be found in Illuminated books. I may venture, however, on explaining, that at the present time the principal distinctions of the more important kinds of Ancient Writing may be reduced to the following peculiarities:—INITIAL-LETTERS, signifying tall, upright, rectangular characters: UNCIALS, which are now understood to mean four-sided, short, square-formed, though curved, characters: MAJUSCULES, describing the larger and older characters of the same general appearance: and CAROLINE MINUSCULES, a smaller letter formed out of the same alphabet, which derived their name and existence from the Emperor Charlemagne.

In such clear and stately writing the most important manuscripts were transcribed from a very early period; and at the close of the Fourth century a decided approach had been made towards the future Art of Illumination. The luxurious habits of the time had

led to the writing of the most valuable books in Gold and Silver Inks, by persons called *Chrysographi*, on leaves of vellum stained with a rose-coloured or a purple dye; the broad faces of the characters being especially adapted for the display of the metallic fluid. Montfaucon has an interesting chapter on this subject in his *Palæographia Græca*, in which he inserts two recipes for Writing in Gold, taken from a Greek Manuscript dated 1478.¹⁰ In both of these, the metal is evidently supposed to be in a granulated, if not in a pulverised form; it is then to be combined with Cinnabar or Ochre, to give it colour, and with the glaire of eggs or gum, as the adhesive vehicle, and to be levigated on a slab of porphyry. It is not impossible that even at this very early period, some of the gold-powder was really nothing more than a preparation of pulverised copper or brass, not altogether unlike the German bronze-powders of the present day.

The chief employment of this ancient writing in such lustrous metals, was to preserve exemplars of the Gospels, or other books of the Holy Scriptures; of which many extremely valuable specimens are yet in existence, copies from some of which I am about to shew you. In these Fac-similes, however, you must not expect to realise any accurate conception of the resplendent appearance of such volumes in their original condition.

Our first Illustration¹¹ is a beautiful example taken from a volume of the close of the Eighth Century, written in the Greek Uncial character, in Gold letters on purple vellum. The original is in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and is an *Evangelisterium*, or Collection of Lessons extracted from the Gospels appointed to be read on certain festivals.

Here is another remarkably fine specimen of a Latin Manuscript of the Sixth century,¹² written on violet-coloured vellum, having the text in Silver Uncial letters, with the name of God inserted in gold. The volume whence this page has been copied

¹⁰ *Palæographia Græca: sive de ortu et progressu Literarum Græcarum.* Paris, 1708. Fol. p. 5, 6.

¹¹ Silvestre, Plate LXIX. Madden, i. p. 184.

¹² Silvestre, Plate cx. Madden, i. p. 296, 297.

is at Paris, and is a Psalter, which is traditionally affirmed to have belonged to St. Germain, Bishop of that City, who died in A. D. 576.

In the next Illumination you have another example of a Latin Manuscript of the Epistles and Gospels, of the Ninth century, written in Silver on purple vellum, in the character called Caroline-Minuscules; having the titles and initials of the chapters inserted in gold. The original is at Paris.¹³

Several other splendid specimens of Writing in Gold on purple vellum, from a very fine Latin Manuscript of the Gospels of the Ninth century, are given in this Fac-simile.¹⁴

In closing these notices of manuscripts transcribed in metallic letters, it should be observed, that those which are written in Silver characters are at the present time of *more rare occurrence* than such as are in Gold; which is accounted for by the additional expense required for staining the leaves purple to display the white metal, whereas the manuscripts in Gold were executed both on white and purple grounds.¹⁵ Here are Two specimens of Gold-writing on white. The first is from a copy of the Gospels written in a large and coarse Greek cursive, or current, hand, of the Eleventh century;¹⁶ and the second is from a Latin Manuscript, also of the Gospels, but of the commencement of the Ninth century, written in Capital and Uncial characters.¹⁷

In all the older Greek manuscripts, though the words were written without any spaces between them, the Contractions were very few and easily understood. They consisted chiefly of omissions of letters, the words being commonly marked with a line above them to indicate the abbreviation; but about the Eighth or Ninth century, the scribes had introduced the art of *Tachygraphy*, or Swift-writing, in which two, three, or more letters were combined into one; such compounds being subsequently known by the

¹³ Silvestre, Plate cxxx. Madden, i. p. 351, 352.

¹⁴ Silvestre, Plate cxxvii. Madden, i. p. 343.

¹⁵ Madden, i. p. 351.

¹⁶ Silvestre, Plate lxxx. Madden, i. p. 213.

¹⁷ Silvestre, Plate cxxiv. Madden, i. p. 336.

term *Nexus Litterarum*, or Knots of Letters. As these contractions were constantly to be found in the best manuscripts of Greek Classics, the older editors of such works introduced them into their printed texts: hence those complicated characters became imitated in type to a very considerable extent; and, as they continued in general use down to the middle of the last century, they now frequently render an excellent old edition of a Greek author almost unintelligible to a modern scholar.

From the practice of Writing in Gold and Silver letters, the introduction of entirely Gold-grounds into manuscripts, having the characters traced thereon in black ink,—seems to have been only the natural progress of the Grecian Byzantine luxury. In that empire, from the Eighth to the Eleventh century, the use of gold in decorative-paintings was carried to the greatest possible excess; not only for back-grounds intended to express celestial splendours, and glories round the heads of sacred personages,—but also for dresses, embroideries, and even for the highest lights in large pictures. In the same age and nation likewise originated the first broad and quaint forms of that vast variety of ornament usually called “*Arabesque*,” consisting of flowers, foliage, and animals, out of which such exquisitely beautiful borders were subsequently designed for Illuminated Manuscripts.

Here are some specimens of Greek Writing on Gold-grounds, excellently copied by Mr. W. H. Shaw, from original fragments in The British Museum.¹⁸ They consist of portions of two leaves of the Canons of Eusebius; they are gilded on both sides, and the text is written between columns and under arches, richly ornamented, and surmounted with circles containing portraits. The manuscript has been attributed to the Sixth century, but the superior style of the illuminations renders so early a date quite impossible.

Out of all this richness of the Byzantine Greek school of Painting, were farther derived those intricate ornaments which afterwards became general in England, Ireland, France, and Italy, of intricate interlaced fret-work, or twining branches, of white or

¹⁸ Illuminated Ornaments: 1833. 4to. Plates 1. iv.

gold, delineated over a back-ground of variegated colours. Such ornaments were possibly originally intended to imitate inlaid pavements and mosaics made with rich marbles; and the term "*Tessellated*" has been frequently employed to describe them as they are found in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts. They were used both for the decoration of the borders of pages, and especially for Initial Letters, of which probably the finest examples extant are in the Manuscript known by the name of "*The Durham Book or St. Cuthbert's Gospels*," preserved in the Cottonian Library in The British Museum. It was executed between A. D. 698 and A. D. 721 by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, in honour of St. Cuthbert; and an excellent Fac-simile of the commencement of St. Luke's Gospel was published by Astle.¹⁹ In the Twelfth century Giraldus Cambrensis appears to have seen a similar manuscript at Kildare, which was attributed to the skill of an angel six centuries before. "The whole," says he, "invites a close inspection of the most curious sight, and penetrates into the most inward arcana of pictorial skill; the ornaments being delicate as well as ingenious, broad and open as well as minute and close; linked together with twisting knots and lines, and so brightly illuminated with rich and vivid colours, that even to this day all the intricacies of the devices may be traced. Indeed all the work seems to have been wrought rather by angelical than by human diligence."²⁰ At the time when this style of decoration prevailed in England, it was common also to Ireland and France; and the books of the period produced in those countries are usually called Irish-Saxon or Franco-Saxon manuscripts.

Some of the most peculiar and splendid characteristics of the Illuminated volumes of all ages, were the large Initial Letters with which they were decorated. In the most ancient manuscripts initials are not at all distinguished from the rest of the text; but from the Seventh to the Eleventh century, separate Capitals of a very considerable size are to be found in the volumes which

¹⁹ *Origin and Progress of Writing*, Plate xiv. p. 96.

²⁰ *Topographia Hiberniæ*: Authore Sylvestro Giraldo Cambrense, l. ii. c. 38. *De Libro Miraculose Conscripto*. Francof. 1603, Fol. p. 730.

are most ornamented. Some of these are designed with great ingenuity and intricacy, like the Knotted-letters of the Greek-writing, and often comprise some of the opening words of the subject; the remainder being contained within an elaborate frame of colours and gilding. Here are specimens of several very large and fine Initials copied by Mr. Noel Humphreys and M. Silvestre, extending from the Seventh to the Tenth century.²¹ They comprise a rich example of the Anglo-Saxon Tessellated style from the commencement of the Gospel of St. John, from "The Durham Book," of the Seventh century; the first page of the Gospel of St. Matthew, from "the Golden Gospels," of about the Eighth century; and a leaf from a Bible executed for Charles the Bald, in the Ninth century; all of which are preserved in The British Museum. There are also several other fine specimens of large and richly ornamented complex Initials, from Manuscripts of the Ninth and Tenth centuries at Munich and Paris.

The finest specimen of an English Illuminated Manuscript of the Tenth century now extant, is the Duke of Devonshire's celebrated Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, written and painted between A.D. 963 and 984; of which here is a splendid specimen by Mr. Humphreys, representing a number of glorified confessors with which the volume now commences. In this Manuscript, the peculiar Byzantine characteristics of the painting of the period, are exhibited in a very rich and remarkable manner; and they are referred to by Godeman who wrote the work, and probably executed the illuminations, in his metrical dedication of the volume. "The great Æthelwold," says he, "commanded a certain monk who was subject to him, to write the present book: he ordered also to be made in it many arches, elegantly decorated and filled up with various ornamented pictures, expressed in divers beautiful colours and gold." In several of the illuminations, therefore, the figures and subjects are placed under semi-circular arches enriched with foliage in the Greek style; whilst others of the pages are enclosed within frames of the most elaborate and diversified

²¹ The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages, 1849. Fol. Plates i. iii. vi. Silvestre, Plates CLXXI. CXXVI. CCXXIV. CXXV.

floreations.²² All the Thirty Illuminations of this wonderful Manuscript have been excellently engraven in outline by Mr. G. F. Sturm, in the *Archaeologia*,²³ in illustration of the late Mr. Gage Rokewode's interesting Dissertation on it. In these outlines the extreme gracefulness of the foliage frames enclosing the text, is more effectually exhibited than it is in the original, where the floreations are somewhat disguised by the colouring. I will take this opportunity of exhibiting one more very fine specimen of this kind of Illumination, but of the Eleventh century, taken by M. Silvestre from the Benedictional of Æthelgar at Rouen.²⁴

A plainer taste in the designing of Initial Letters began to prevail in the Twelfth century, when they were frequently gracefully composed of broad twisting foliage interlaced with animals, similar to the ornaments of the capitals of Early English columns, usually called "the stiff-leaf." They were frequently drawn in red with a pen, having lightly-tinted backgrounds of blue and green; but some initials of the period were of a much larger size and intricate richness of design, extending both into the page and down the margin. About this time, therefore, it became the practice for the scribes of manuscripts to leave blanks for the initial-letters to be filled up by the Illuminators; and it is not at all unusual to find those spaces either entirely vacant, or occupied with unfinished letters, in the books of the Twelfth and two following centuries.

One of the first English Antiquaries who appreciated the great value of Illuminated Manuscripts as historical monuments, was Thomas Astle, Keeper of the Tower Records at the close of the last century; and in the summary which he gives of their relative excellence in his "*Origin and Progress of Writing*,"²⁵ he observes, "that from the Tenth till the middle of the Fourteenth century, the miniature-paintings to be found in manuscripts are commonly very bad; and to be considered as so many proofs of the

²² Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages, Plate VII.

²³ Vol. XXIV. 1832, Plates i—xxxii.

²⁴ Paléogr. Univ. Plate cccxvii. A fine specimen taken from the commencement of a Psalter of the same style and period, in the Arundel collection in The British Museum is given by Mr. Noel Humphreys, Plate viii.

²⁵ Lond. 1803. 4to. p. 195.

barbarism of those ages." But the Thirteenth century was distinguished by several improvements in the Art of Illumination. In particular it may be noticed, that the gilding introduced into the backgrounds of paintings, borders, and initials, instead of presenting the flat appearance which is to be found in the Byzantine school, was rendered especially splendid by being laid on a thick substantial mass, formed of some tenacious paste, capable of being polished by an ivory, stone, or metal burnisher, until it looked like a plate of solid metal. The colouring of the period was deep and rich rather than brilliant, and was heightened by fine lines, drawn in white, and the highest lights inserted in the same. In the ornamental-drawing, the broad foliage of the previous ages gradually became interlaced and spiral branches, ending in large leaves of the ivy or wild-geranium, powerfully coloured, which the next century at length improved into perfect beauty. In the larger initial-letters, borders, and ornaments, human figures as well as animals are introduced, both singly and in groups, representing a great variety of actions and costumes, whence volumes containing such decorations were called *Historiated*; and the practice of painting them gradually made way for the more valuable historical Illuminations of the next century. Here are two very rich specimens published by Mr. Noel Humphreys; from a Bible *Historiée* of the Thirteenth century in The British Museum, and from the Hours of St. Louis in the Bibliothèque du Roi.²⁶ The best miniatures of the age were produced in Paris; but we may observe that at this time a very powerful impetus to the improvement of pictorial art in large subjects, was supplied by the numerous ordinances of Henry III. for decorating his palaces with certain figures and histories, and especially with paintings of the exploits of Richard I. at Antioch, in the Tower and the Antioch-Chamber at Westminster, to be taken from a large volume which had been illuminated for him.²⁷

In the Thirteenth century was produced a very celebrated work

²⁶ Illuminated Books, Plates x. xi.

²⁷ Hon. H. Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, chap. i. 12-52, Hen. III. A.D. 1227-1268. The precept relating to the Royal manuscript and the Antioch-Chamber was issued May 17th, 1250. Edit. Dallaway, 1826, i. p. 19 and note.

by John Fidenza, better known as St. Bonaventura, entitled "*Meditations on the Life of Jesus Christ*," which seems to have definitively fixed in Italy, France, Flanders, and England, an established manner for treating of pictures designed from the events of the divine story.²⁸ The minute description which it gives of all the subjects which it embraces, appears to have completely settled the *Religious Ideal*, both of the early Illuminators and also of the foreign painters down even to the Seventeenth century. To this authority may be attributed the remarkably uniform character of all illuminations representing the same subjects, in the books of prayers and offices after this time; since the descriptive scenes contained in Bonaventura's work may usually be recognised in such miniatures. Another ancient series of very explicit directions for the treatment and placing of Scripture-subjects was drawn up in Greece, and is still held in the highest estimation by artists residing in Greek monasteries and employed in the decoration of churches. A very valuable Translation of it from a Byzantine manuscript, was published by M. Didron at Paris in 1845.²⁹

The letters which are known as the "Modern Gothic," are considered to have been introduced in the Twelfth century, but it is to the close of the Thirteenth that we must assign their establishment in their present form; in which they always appear more perfectly to harmonise with illuminations than any other species of writing. This character was gradually formed out of the letters used in Norman manuscripts, made larger and more upright, and written more closely and angularly; the initials being adaptations of Roman Uncials and Capitals, rounded and enlarged into a special alphabet peculiar to the time. And this style of writing lasted, with but little variation, until after the establishment of the modern Roman-letter became established by

²⁸ *Meditationes Vitæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, first printed at Augsburg by Gunther Zainer in 1468: an English Translation of this work by the Rev. F. Oakley was published in 1845. 12mo. Bonaventura died in 1274.

²⁹ *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétien, Grecque et Latin; avec une Introduction et de Notes par M. Didron. Traduit du Manuscrit Byzantin, "Le Guide de la Peinture," par le Dr. Paul Durand. Paris. 1845. 8vo.*

the Invention of Printing. It exists even to the present day, in the purest forms of the small characters of the type called Black-Letter or Old English.

The Fourteenth century brings us to the age of Chaucer and Froissart, and of those national chronicles which afforded such extensive scope to the historical Illuminators for the delineation of their invaluable pictures of battles and regal courts, great public events and religious ceremonies, and even scenes of domestic life, which in the latter part of this age began to be extensively introduced into manuscripts. "These inestimable paintings and illuminations," says Astle, "display the manners, customs, habits—ecclesiastical, civil, and military,—weapons and instruments of war, utensils and architecture of the ancients: and are of the greatest use in illustrating many of the important facts relative to the history of the times in which they were executed." In the early part of the century, the same large Initials of scroll-work combined with animals, prevailed in manuscripts both in France and England, executed in deep rich reds, purple, and gold. But in the year 1352, when Edward III. was engaged in erecting the Chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster, he employed a considerable number of artists to decorate the walls and windows with a great variety of figures, inscriptions, ornaments, and religious histories, all of which exhibited the characteristic features of illuminations. The paintings were frequently executed on bright and thick gold grounds, diapered with flowerings; the dresses were often covered with gold embroidery; the *Lisurès*, or borders, were decorated like the margins of manuscripts; and there were even text-writers employed to trace mottos and names, especially on the glass, such as appeared at the Minster visited by Pierce Ploughman:³⁰

" Wyde wyndowes y wrought,
Y wryten full thikke,
Shynen with shapen sheldes
To shewen aboute."

About the reign of Edward I. the grotesque foliage of Initial letters extending down the margin of the text, was exchanged for

³⁰ The Creed of Piers Ploughman, v. 347. Edit. T. Wright, 1856. ii. p. 461.

a broad perpendicular line of gold and colours diapered with white, enclosing the page like a frame; from different parts of which issued branches bearing leaves of holly and ivy interspersed with quaint figures of men, birds, and animals. This marginal ornament was afterwards simplified into a plain narrow double line of gold, blue, and carnation, having trefoil or quatrefoil ends and centres, whence it has been sometimes called "the Gothic Bracket." The same style of decoration, though varied and improved, continued to the time of Edward III., when it is to be found highly enriched with angels, human figures, animals, banners, armorial-ensigns, and scrolls bearing legends and mottos in the Gothic text. Probably the most beautiful example extant of this elaborately-splendid style of Illumination, is the manuscript known as "The Great Hours of Jean, Duke De Berri," which was painted during the last twenty years of the Fourteenth century, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Two very fine pages of this gorgeous manuscript have been admirably copied by M. Silvestre and Mr. Noel Humphreys, which are now laid before you.³¹

In some few instances the borders of this period consisted of a frame enclosing large thick branches, from which extend broad leaves of bright colours, occasionally enclosing a golden ground. In this style of ornament seems to have originated the beautiful German forest foliage of the next century.

The best of the historical compositions of this period to be found in manuscripts, as well as the most artist-like borders, were still executed in France; and one of their characteristics is the appearance of elaborate finish, which peculiarity may be observed in the extremely beautiful volume which I now place before you. It consists of a Fac-simile published by the Comte De Viel Castel, at Paris in 1853, of a very richly-illuminated Manuscript of the year 1352, containing an account of the foundation and Statutes of the Order of St. *Esprit* for True Affection, or of the Knot, Instituted by

³¹ Paléogr. Univ. Plate cxcvi. Illuminated Books, etc. Plate xxi. Plate xxii. of the same work, represents a large Illumination of great pictorial merit, within an extremely rich border of a nearly similar style, but executed in the early part of the Fifteenth century. The manuscript out of which it was taken contains the Comedies of Terence.

Louis II. King of Anjou, Naples, and Sicily.³² In this superb specimen of Chromo-Lithography, with the other examples of Illuminations of the Fourteenth Century, by M. Silvestre, and Mr. Noel Humphreys,³³ now exhibited, you will have a very interesting view of the best paintings of this nature down to the close of the period.

We must not take leave of the Fourteenth century without noticing a very delicate style of Art which then prevailed, and which remarkably exhibits the taste and ability of the artists of the time. It consisted principally of human figures carefully and gracefully drawn with a pen, and then very lightly tinted in the faces and dresses with a narrow transparent line of colour close to the outline, as if to indicate the manner in which the drawings might be wrought up into paintings. M. Silvestre has given one example of this style of decoration, from the beginning of a charter by Charles V. of France;³⁴ but many specimens of it are extant in the British Museum.

From the early part to the middle of the Fifteenth century, borders formed of the ivy leaves and holly, springing out of graceful branches and tendrils delicately drawn with a pen, in black ink, are found generally to prevail in the finer devotional manuscripts, combined with coloured flowers, fruit and foliage. As the age advanced, and the fancy of the Illuminators became more luxuriant, such borders were farther enriched by stellating the backgrounds with bright golden stars, and more copious and well-drawn specimens of that Mediæval-Botany, which Mr. Ruskin has rightly regarded as the source of so much beauty. The ordinary floral examples comprise the pink, the marigold, the daisy, and the columbine, with a frequent introduction of the strawberry; but in

³² Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint-Ésprit au Droit Désir ou du Nœud, Instituté à Naples en 1352, par Louis d'Anjou, Premier du Nom, Roi de Jérusalem, de Naples, et de Sicile. Manuscrit du XIVième Siècle, conservé au Louvre, dans le Musée des Souverains Français; avec une notice sur la Peinture des Miniatures, et la description du Manuscrit, par M. le Comte Horace de Viel-Castel. Paris, 1853. Fol. There is an Illumination of the same finished style of art given by Mr. Noel Humphreys, in his *Illuminated Books*, Plate XIII., from the Hours of the Duke of Anjou, painted about 1380, preserved in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

³³ Paléogr. Univ. Plate cxcvii. *Illuminated Books, etc.*, Plates, xiv. xvi. and the other examples already referred to.

³⁴ Paléogr. Univ. Plate cxciv.

some of the finest French manuscripts are to be found lilies, lupins, horse-chestnut-blossoms, golden gourds, pomegranates, and many other fruits and flowers.

In all the remarks which we have made on the Characteristics of Illuminations executed in different periods and countries, our principal reference has been to the style of the Borders enclosing the pages of the text, and to the Initial-Letters commencing the several sections : for in those two features are contained the most important indications of the age and excellence of an Illuminated Manuscript. During the Fourteenth century, the Borders of written volumes began to be altered in form, from being actually frames to the text, to that established proportion of margin which still exists in making-up the pages of printed-books ; that is to make the outer margins and bottoms of the pages, about twice the width of the space allotted to the inner-margins and to the top. The wider parts of these borders appear to have offered such favourable opportunities to the inventive-fancy of the Illuminators, that they gradually became filled with a great variety of ornaments and objects, some of which were beautiful, and others grotesque, or even coarse. They frequently represented a small green island, or a rock, supporting the figure of a monstrous animal delineated in colours and heightened with gold. In those borders of devotional manuscripts which surround the commencement of an especial office or series of psalms, a large miniature proper to the subject was introduced, and they were also still farther decorated by a broad inner line of foliage richly coloured and heightened with white, on a raised gold ground, which was commonly connected with a large initial letter commencing the office. A calendar frequently written entirely in letters of gold, blue, and crimson, was placed at the beginning of the volume, and it was also generally painted with the zodiacal signs and allegorical representations of the months, which often exhibited great merit and beauty.

By the middle, and at the latter part, of the Fifteenth century, the Borders of the small delicate manuscripts which were executed in Italy, exhibited a still greater variety and profusion of ornaments. They consisted of slender gracefully-twined branches, of

the brightest colours and gilding; of birds, insects, and flowers; of pearls and rich jewels; Roman coins, and especially of those sparkling little figures called gems, or classical devices delineated in white on small black circles. As this style of Illuminated Borders continued to exist in Italy to the commencement of the Sixteenth century, there can be no doubt that to *them*, as well as to examples of decoration really ancient and classical, must be attributed the origin of that almost endless variety of beautiful pendant ornaments which Raffaele and his school so happily introduced into buildings; and which Giulio Clovio, and other Illuminators of the same period, delineated on the borders of manuscripts.

In the latter part of the Fifteenth century, there existed several very characteristic and elegant species of Borders, which continued to be painted for some time after the establishment of Typography. There was especially one description of decoration which occurs in every kind of manuscript, of great intrinsic elegance and admitting of the greatest variety of arrangement. The ordinary practice was to paint borders composed of flowers and coloured foliage on plain white ground; but subsequently these margins were divided into diamond-shaped compartments, or circles, or other regular sections, of diverse colours or gilding, and placed in rich contrast with each other. Another ornament peculiar to the time was the Italian Branch-border, of which here are two fine specimens; and one of them also exhibits the same kind of ornament adapted to an initial-letter.³⁵ It consists of a large white stem, with branches and leaves, gracefully twining round perpendicular lines of gold, the interstices being filled up with bright colours.

Two other kinds of Borders, one composed of twisted and knotted Cords or cables, and another of Scrolls bearing letters or mottoes, may be regarded as at this time being common to Flanders, France, and Italy. They are generally to be found painted with great minuteness and finish, in the smallest and most delicate manuscripts, and the specimens now laid before you are

³⁵ Silvestre, Paléogr. Univ., Plates CLX. CLXI. Shaw, Illuminated Ornaments, Plate XXII.

of that description.³⁶ The backgrounds of such borders were frequently of a rich yellow-brown, relieved by natural shadows and heightened with small touches of gold; but they were also sometimes painted lilac or crimson, a bright green, or a very clear azure. The same rich grounds were often employed when the borders consisted of flowers and insects; and it appears to be possible that those objects which required more skill in painting were executed first by a superior artist, the frame and the ground being inserted by another hand, and the shadows and golden lights by the first illuminator. Here are two pages, published by M. Silvestre from a book of Hours once belonging to the Emperor Charles V., which seem to confirm this conjecture.³⁷ In one of them the border is quite completed, and in the other are only some flowers and an insect painted on the plain vellum without a background, as if the volume had never been finished.

Another kind of very beautiful Border, consisted of a narrow frame enclosing small flowers, birds, and butterflies, delineated in rich colours on a ground of dead gold: this was also Flemish Art, and is usually to be found in manuscripts relating to Alchemy. A specimen of this style is given in the title-page to Mr. Shaw's *Illuminated Ornaments*.³⁸ The Flower-border, however, was also drawn of much larger dimensions, so that the flowers were painted of a considerable size, as represented in these examples from the Hours of Anne of Bretagné, published by Mr. Noel Humphreys.³⁹ Here are several good examples of the different styles of Illumination which I have been describing, supplied from my own collection; and here is especially a very fine, though an imperfect, manuscript, in which many of the various ornaments are exhibited. Perhaps, however, some of the most artist-like illuminations in the volume, are to be found at the end of it in the usual series of prayers commemorative of particular saints; which, I may take the opportunity of observing, almost always differs in some respects

³⁶ *Bibliographical Decameron*, 1817. Vol. i. p. clxxvi.

³⁷ *Paleogr. Univ.* Plate ccxxvii.

³⁸ *Illuminated Ornaments*. 1853. 4to. Title and Plate xxxiii.

³⁹ *Illuminated Books*, etc. Plates xxx. xxxiii. *The Illuminated Calendar and Home Diary*. Lond. 1845. 8vo.

in every individual manuscript. These figures are drawn in a quaint, solemn, and simple manner, and are painted with the hard, rich, and careful, colouring of the earliest Italian Art: they seem indeed to be almost the very prototypes of the modern Pre-Raffaelite School of Painting. Another style of marginal-decoration of the Fifteenth century which I must notice, is the Forest-border of Germany and Flanders. It consisted of large leaves, and trunks and branches of trees, usually painted in different shades of rich browns, heightened with gold, and arranged so as to form a great variety of divisions on backgrounds of green, crimson, or scarlet. Parts of trees are also very frequently to be found at this time, twisted into initial-letters of the Modern-Gothic character, and painted in the same colours as the borders, which generally exhibit both effect and beauty. These examples, executed by Mr. H. N. Humphreys and Mr. Shaw, will illustrate this well-known species of Illumination.⁴⁰ Towards the end of this period, the light coloured foliage which had so long prevailed in illuminated borders, became more broad and florid and resembling the leaves and branches of the acanthus; and it was also usual to paint it with deeper and richer tints. The gilding was sometimes exceedingly bright, though but slightly raised; and instead of the light tendrils drawn in ink with flowers and gold leaves, it is not uncommon to find the backgrounds entirely filled up with vermiculated ornaments drawn in thick gold, especially in small Italian manuscripts. In Spanish and Portuguese manuscripts, the grounds of borders are often to be found decorated with delicate lines of lace-work drawn with a pen.

In closing our review of the practice of Illuminating in the Fifteenth century, we cannot but notice the very remarkable extension which had by that time taken place in its general application. During the Byzantine period it was confined to manuscripts of the Sacred Scriptures, some writings of the Fathers, and the most important service-books. Then followed volumes for private use, containing *Horæ*, or devotions for the Canonical Hours, and Offices for certain holy days; which are almost as

⁴⁰ Art of Illumination, 1849. Square 8vo. Specimens 7, 8, p. 53, 54. Illuminated Ornaments, Plate XXXIV.

universally as improperly called *Missals*. Legends, Histories, and Poetry succeeded; and at length some of the recovered Classics were adorned with superior paintings: but by the end of the Fifteenth century, almost every kind of document, when formally written, may be found either illuminated, or illustrated with drawings executed with a pen. Charters, Wills, Indentures, Patents of Nobility and Armorial-Ensigns, Statutes of Foundations, books of Accounts, and even those registers called Mortuary or Obituary-Rolls, were thus decorated. The records last mentioned, were rolls of vellum which were carried from one Religious-House to another, on the decease of any of their common patrons, by especial messengers called *Breviatores*, to give notice of the event, and to receive a written entry on the volume that the mortuary-service should be duly performed. The top of the roll was frequently decorated with a drawing, after which followed a short circular-letter announcing the decease, and then succeeded the titles of the several religious-houses visited, with a memorandum of the name of the departed, and a brief prayer for his soul's health.⁴¹ These entries are often executed in ornamental characters with decorated initial-letters, and appear to have been always made by a member of the monastery visited; but sometimes with singular rudeness of language and writing. The best specimens of the illuminations of such manuscripts, are those contained on the Obituary-Roll of William Ebchester and John Burnby, Priors of Durham, from 1446 to 1468, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and published by The Surtees Society. They represent the decease, the funeral, and the reception into heaven, of a departed Prior, disposed in a perpendicular series, within an architectural frame. In his very interesting Preface to the Surtees volume, Mr. Raine states that "they were painted in colours once brilliant beyond measure, and still notwithstanding the many thousands of times which the record must have been unrolled and exposed to view, retain much of their original character for vividness and beauty."⁴² M. Silvestre has also given two fac-similes from the Mortuary-roll of St. Vitalis, Abbot of

⁴¹ Proceedings of the Archæological Institute at Norwich, Aug. 31st, 1847.

⁴² Publications of The Surtees Society, No. 31. Lond. 1856. 8vo. pp. xx. 18.

Savigny, who died in A. D. 1122, containing a large and monstrous initial drawn with a pen; but they are characterised chiefly by the singularity and intricacy of the letters.⁴³

The great advances which had been made in the Fine-Arts by the commencement of the Sixteenth century, is evident in all the best Illuminated Manuscripts of the time. The formality of the ancient manner then begins entirely to disappear, both in borders and in miniatures, and the richest profusion of classical ornaments is introduced. Titles and commencing-pages are not unfrequently written on pensile-tablets within golden frames, and the text consists either of Italic characters, or of a graceful slender Roman letter, rigidly plain, but sometimes coloured or gilded, and always executed with the greatest skill. Manuscripts were still *illustrated*, and in a very superior manner, but they could be no longer called *illuminated*, for all the quaint gothic features of the ancient style had departed. Another Age of Art had now arrived, in which Painting was Herself coming forth in all her hitherto unknown strength, to be displayed and wondered at, far beyond the narrow limits of historical miniatures on the borders of manuscripts, or even on the walls of chapels and palaces, in panels for rich chambers, or on the leaves of portable-altars,—to illuminate, in her turn, other generations; for the improvement of which the style of the Renaissance was incomparably better adapted. You will readily perceive the truth of these observations, by examining the fine examples taken from Manuscripts of the Sixteenth century now placed before you; three of which were copied from volumes decorated by the hand of Giulio Clovio.⁴⁴

It is probable that a considerable degree of the improvement shewn in the Italian Illuminations of the Sixteenth century, must be attributed to the powerful patronage of the Venetian nobles, who employed the best artists of the time to execute the frontispieces of the volumes containing the patents by which the Doges appointed them to the government of any of the dependent states of the Republic. These volumes are usually known by the name

⁴³ Paléogr. Univ. Plate CLXXXII. Madden, ii. 501.

⁴⁴ Silvestre, Paléogr. Univ. Plate CLXII. Humphreys, Illuminated Books, etc. Plates XXXVI. XXXVII.

of *Ducali*, or rather *Diplome* or *Libri Ducali*, and consisted of thin small folio vellum manuscripts, bound in scarlet, gilded and stamped with the Lion of St. Mark and the motto of the Republic. At the commencement of each is placed a large frontispiece containing a half-length portrait of the nobleman receiving the dignity, kneeling in a stately architectural background, before the Madonna, St. Mark, the personification of Venice, as Justice, seated on a lion-throne, or, sometimes, the reigning Doge. The designs are usually enclosed within rich cartouche-frames of brown gold bronze, and comprise the opening words of the Diploma in gold Roman Capitals, on a blue or crimson ground. There are of course various degrees of merit to be found in these illuminations, but they are in general executed with considerable ability and very highly finished in the manner of Giulio Clovio. From the superior taste of the designs and the style of drawing, several of these paintings have been attributed to Paolo Veronese, Francesco Padouanino, and even to Titian; and it is not at all improbable that the originals were sometimes supplied by even the most eminent artists, and copied into the volumes by the best Miniatori of the time. Mr. Noel Humphreys has published one of these frontispieces,⁴⁵ in which the new governor is presented to the Blessed Virgin by St. Francis of Assisium, who frequently appears in such paintings performing the same office. The reason for the introduction of this figure probably was, that the nobles represented really were members of that "Third Order" which St. Francis instituted in 1221 in Tuscany and Spoleto, "for persons of both sexes, married or single, living in the world, united by certain rules and exercises of piety, compatible with a secular state."⁴⁶

The ancient characteristics of Illuminating, as it was exhibited in its most ordinary form, even in its latest period had not altogether ceased to exist, but had rather merged into an alliance with the new Art of Typography, which was then rapidly striding over Europe to enlighten and to bless it. When we pass from the age of *genuine* Illuminated Manuscripts, to that of printed-books

⁴⁵ Illuminated Books, etc. Plate xxxvi.

⁴⁶ Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Edit. 1833, ii. p. 580 note.

adorned with ornaments, engraven on wood and transferred to vellum by printers' ink, and the action of a heavy press, and subsequently powerfully coloured;—the closest imitation of written volumes is to be observed in all the earliest efforts of the first typographers. Their object appears to have been to make the productions of the press pass for the more ordinary painted manuscripts, which were probably produced at the period with great expedition, and in Flanders were possibly to be found always ready for sale. These books, which were usually Manuals of Devotion, at first consisted of real manuscript leaves, interspersed with illustrations engraven in faint outlines, intended to be coloured, They were subsequently printed on stout vellum, in types which were cut closely to imitate the text written by the best scribes of the time; and blanks were left in the printed-matter, both for the larger initials and even for the small paragraph-marks, to be filled up by some ordinary illuminator. The large whole-page pictures, usually placed at the commencement of the different Offices, were engraved on wood with very little shading, and almost in outline, in order that they might be the more effectually covered with a strong opaque colouring, heightened with lights and hatchings pencilled in gold, which made them closely to resemble coarse illuminations. In fact it requires rather an experienced eye to *distinguish readily between a genuine Illuminated Manuscript, and a well-painted book really Printed on Vellum*. Here are several volumes of prayers for the Canonical Hours, from my own Library, which will illustrate and confirm these remarks; and in particular here is one specimen, printed by Philip Pigouchet at Paris in 1491, which is *only partly painted*, and which shews the light style of the engravings intended to be coloured.* The larger pictures in the painted printed-books were frequently left without borders, and were afterwards enclosed by a gilded architectural frame, rather roughly executed by the hand only; of which also there are some examples before you.

As the subjects of the larger miniatures inserted in illuminated devotional manuscripts are to be found in corresponding places in

* See also Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, Vol. i. p. 96, 97.

the printed volumes of prayers, so they are very frequently treated in the same grotesque style of drawing. Dr. Dibdin indeed affirms, that about the year 1460 there began to prevail in Illuminations "that peculiar style of Art, which may be considered as furnishing the models for those wood-cuts, with which the publications of foreign printers in particular were so profusely embellished."⁴⁸ The same authority, however, is inclined to doubt, whether any specimens of this decorative-printing of borders and pictures were produced anterior to the date of 1484. The finest examples of illustrated Books of Offices and Hours appeared at Paris, but very many such works were also executed by Flemish artists; and as Bruges had been once celebrated for the production of great numbers of fine illuminated manuscripts, so it is possible that it might still be a mart for the printed and painted service-books of a subsequent age. The tradition of Typographical-history is, that such volumes were for a long time sold as manuscripts, until the deception was discovered by the too-rapid production of them.

It does not appear that the practice of Illuminating Printed volumes of private devotions to resemble manuscripts, was followed to any extent in Italy, but some remarkably fine examples are extant of Early Printed books Illuminated in that country. The *Editio Princeps* of Pliny's Natural History, executed at Venice in 1471, in the British Museum, commences with a very large and rich initial letter;⁴⁹ and Mr. W. H. Shaw has also published some very beautiful specimens of painting from Italian books printed in 1476 and 1490.⁵⁰

In France, at the same early period, the volumes which were issued from the presses of Antoine Vérard and his contemporaries were often to be found illuminated, though they were avowedly declared to be *printed books*, by the most explicit typographical proofs. There were the large device of the printer, usually representing the sign of the house at which he lived, or ingeniously

⁴⁸ Bibliographical Decameron, p. cciv.

⁴⁹ Published in 1837 in C. J. Smith's Historical and Literary Curiosities.

⁵⁰ Illuminated Ornaments, Plates xxiv. xxxv.

emblematising his name, as well as a colophon expressing the typographer's designation and residence, with the year, and even the month and day when the volume was produced. The wood-cut decorations also were evidently intended to be regarded only as fine printed engravings, from the finished style in which they were executed, and the powerful black back-grounds, stellated with white spots, on which the figures are placed. The borders surrounding the pages of such books, are especially rich, varied, and elaborate. They comprise rural scenes and hunting-subjects, sports of rustics and children, decorated columns, vases, and grotesques, blended with arabesque-scrolls, fruit, flowers, and foliage; as may be seen in these specimens extending from 1498 to 1522.⁵¹ In the former year Vérard produced a volume of prayers, in which the small groups forming the well-known "Dance of Death," were introduced in panels in the marginal decorations,⁵² as they are also in this example.

Similar mortuary groups, accompanied by many other border-decorations of great merit, are profusely introduced into a volume, which may be regarded as exhibiting some of the last ancient traces of a book of devotion resembling an illuminated manuscript. This work is usually called "Queen Elizabeth's Prayer-book"; not because it was openly authorised or adopted by Her Majesty, but chiefly on account of the whole-length portrait of her praying, on the reverse of the title-page. It is called "A Booke of Christian Praiers, collected out of the Ancient Writers"; and was first published in 1569 by John Day, the compilation being attributed to Richard Day or to John Foxe. It is a small quarto volume, every page of which is surrounded by borders representing Scripture-histories, effigies of the Virtues and Vices, the Works of Charity, the Dance of Death, and the Signs of the End of the World; in addition to many others, consisting merely of flowers and graceful ornaments: all evidently executed by foreign artists of considerable ability. Although it must always have been a very costly publication, five editions of it were printed down to 1608;

⁵¹ See also *The Bibliographical Decameron*, Vol. i. p. 100-109.

⁵² *Bibliographical Decameron*, p. 33, 34.

here is a copy of that published in 1590; but of the first impression one specimen only is known to exist, which had belonged to Queen Elizabeth herself. It is now in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, and is painted. The prayers were reprinted by the Parker Society in 1851, with an interesting bibliographical notice by the Rev. W. K. Clay;⁵³ and in 1853 Fac-simile Engravings of the borders were published surrounding the text of the Common-Prayer, a copy of which volume is on the lecture-table.

I cannot take leave of these Illustrated Books of Devotion, without saying to you a few words on the fine volume called Albert Durer's Prayer-book, preserved in the Royal Library at Munich; of one of the leaves of which here is a fac-simile.⁵⁴ The text of the work was executed by Hans Schönsperger in 1514, and the Munich copy of it, one of the only two known to exist, contains fifty-one drawings by Albert Durer, executed with a pen, arranged in the form of borders to the text, or in that style of modern German decoration, called *Randzeichnungen*. A Fac-simile copy of the whole work was published at Munich, by Strixner and Piloty in 1808, and by Ackermann at London in 1817. A later edition of Strixner's fac-similes also lies on the table.

Probably the last attempt to adorn an English Ritual to the extent of the older books of prayers, was John Sturt's edition of the Liturgy, published in 1717, entirely Engraven on Copper-plates; the pages being surrounded by emblematical borders, and richly embellished with a profusion of pictorial embellishments and initial letters.

It is rightly observed by the literary Editors of Silvestre's *Paléographie Universelle*, that an historical review of Ancient Writing would be incomplete, if modern times did not furnish their share to the general assemblage of specimens. The same remark may be equally well applied in respect of Illuminated Manuscripts, so long as *genuine* Illuminated Manuscripts had any existence: and they were not unfrequently to be found in Flanders

⁵³ No. XLIII. Private Prayers put forth by Authority, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

⁵⁴ Silvestre, *Paléogr. Univ.* Plate CCLXVI.

throughout the Seventeenth century, and in France down to even the middle of the Eighteenth. In these volumes, however, we observe that the artist who decorated the manuscript often appears to have regarded himself as independent of his text, rather than to have identified himself with it, as was evidently the feeling of the old Illuminators. Here is M. Silvestre's beautiful copy from a small volume of prayers executed for Wilhelm, Markgraff of Baden, who died in 1677.⁵⁵ It is decorated with a number of miniature representations of celebrated paintings, executed by Frederick Brentel in 1647, which form separate leaves; and the artist has taken advantage of a blank part of a page to fill it up with a small painting of a child sleeping over a group of skulls.

The latest French Illuminations were of the most precise and elaborate character, even in the smallest forms in which they are to be found. If the extreme beauty of the writing, both in Roman and in Italic letters, the uniform excellence of the vellum, the solemn richness and elaboration of the numerous paintings contained in those manuscripts,—and, very frequently, the stately dimensions of the volumes,—could have made them perfect,—they would perhaps have been the very finest specimens of the Art of Illuminating. But though this is far from being the fact, most of the existing specimens of the later French Illuminations are exceedingly elegant volumes; whether they may chance to be of a large or a small size, as you will observe in the specimens now laid before you. Here is first an extremely beautiful Manuscript from my own Library, of the Seven Penitential Psalms executed for Anne Chabot, Duchess of Rohan, at the close of the Seventeenth Century. It contains Eight very highly finished Miniatures, each representing the Duchess De La Valliere as a Magdalen, in addition to the richest borders, head-pieces, and culs-de-lampes attached to the several Psalms. Here is also a beautiful copy published by M. Silvestre of a small volume of devotions called "The Psalter of Jesus," written in 1640 by Nicolas Jarry, one of the most celebrated Calligraphers of his time, for Madame

⁵⁵ Paléogr. Univ. Plate cclxvi.

De Lorraine, a portrait of whom at prayer is prefixed to the manuscript, which also contains fourteen other paintings.⁶⁶

The ancient practice of Illuminating Printed Books of Devotion to resemble manuscripts, was not unusual in Paris during the latter part of the Seventeenth century, in the collections of prayers and offices known by the name of "*Heures Burinées*," from the text being entirely engraven in ornamental writing on copper-plates. The first pages of the several services were surrounded by decorative borders or flowers; surmounted with emblematical head-pieces; commenced with large Historiated Initials, and culs-de-lampes or flourishes placed at the close of the sections. These volumes were frequently to be found carefully coloured and gilded, with an ornamental frontispiece written on vellum; and Brunet remarks that none of the copies were exactly alike. The finest specimens of these books were published by Pierre Moreau in 1632, and L. Sénault between 1680 and 1690.⁶⁷

Here are two fine specimens of the large French Illuminations of the Eighteenth century, published by M. Silvestre and Mr. Noel Humphreys; both of which were taken from Service-books executed for the Royal Chapel at Versailles.⁶⁸ In all these manuscripts the peculiar characteristics of the Ancient Illuminations were wanting. The borders of the pages frequently consisted of broad frames, or lines of flat gilding and varied colours, instead of the embossed golden leaves of holly and ivy, the bright flowers, and the delicate tendrils traced by the pen, which surrounded the margins of the Horæ and Offices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries. Sometimes, however, these borders were enriched with compartments containing small landscapes, or figures, entirely wrought in different shades of one bright colour, as carnation or azure, relieved with gold or white for the highest lights, similar to

⁶⁶ Paléogr. Univ. Plate cciv. A very interesting description of the principal manuscripts executed by this very eminent calligrapher, is given in J. C. Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, Edit. Paris, 1843. Tome ii. Seconde partie, pp. 709, 710.

⁶⁷ *Les Saintes Prières de l'Âme Chrétienne, Écrites et Gravées après le Naturel de Plume*, par P. Moreau. Paris, 1632. Small octavo. *Tirées de la Sainte Écriture*. Paris. 8vo. *Heures Nouvelles. Écrites et Gravées par L. Sénault*. Paris. 8vo. *Heures Burinées. Manuel du Libraire*. T. ii. part 2, p. 561, iii. part 1, p. 457.

⁶⁸ Paléogr. Univ. Pl. ccv. Illuminated Books, etc. Pl. xxxix.

the brown gold bronze of the Sixteenth century. The profuse introduction of gold in the Byzantine paintings has been already noticed, and throughout the whole of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries gold hatchings and diapers are constantly employed to relieve and ornament dresses and backgrounds. But before the beginning of the Sixteenth century, the style of painting called *Camaïeu-Gris*, or *Grisaille*, was introduced, in which the miniatures were painted in a blue neutral-tint, with the highest lights inserted in white, and other parts relieved with gold pencillings.⁵⁹ In the later French manuscripts, however, the original quiet harmony of this manner of painting became lost in the vivid colours which were then employed, though it still retained the name of *Camaïeu*. The principal Miniatures of the more modern French Service-books are frequently of a considerable size; they are drawn with a great degree of pictorial talent, and wrought in rich deep body-colours with the utmost elaboration; but they are deficient in the quaint beauty of outline, and the transparent clearness of colouring, which are to be found in the Italian and French manuscripts of three hundred years previous.

There are still remaining to be considered two very important parts of the History of Illuminating. One of them relates to the Materials employed by the Ancient Illuminators, and their probable Methods of Painting; and the other is an account of the Literature of Illumination: but these will be considered in a Second Part of this Lecture; for on both of these subjects a large amount of curious information is at the present time existing: which is another remarkable proof of the sagacity and success of modern researches into antiquity.

The descriptive sketch which we have now laid before you, has been unavoidably very superficial, and has exhibited some few only of the most striking features of this beautiful species of Painting, at different periods of its progress, without attempting to illustrate the manner in which it so powerfully aided in the Revival and Improvement of the Fine-Arts.

⁵⁹ Specimens of both these styles of Illuminations are given in *The Illuminated Books of the Middle-ages*, Plates xxxv. xxxix.

On the Advancement of Literature also, the Illumination of Manuscripts must have had a powerful influence, in the natural manner by which the brilliant miniatures would win over readers to the text. In fact, I have only to refer to the well-known anecdote of the childhood of Alfred, to point out the very strong probability that his subsequent noble efforts for the establishing of Learning in England, may be traced to the alluring splendours of the initial-letters of an Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscript, which he was shewn when he was only twelve years old.

"On a certain day," says Asser, the King's Biographer, "his mother was shewing to him and his brothers a Saxon book of poems, which she held in her hand; and said, 'Whichever of you shall the soonest learn to repeat this volume, shall have it for his own.' Stimulated by these words, or rather by the Divine inspiration, and attracted greatly by the beauty of the Initial Letters of the book, he spake in anticipation of his brothers,—who though they were his seniors in age were not so in grace,—and said, 'Will you really give this book to one of us? namely to him who can first understand it and repeat it to you?' At which his mother smiled, and gladly replied, 'I will give it to him.' Then he took the volume to his tutor to read and study it, and at length brought it again to his mother and recited it." Notwithstanding all the doubts which have been raised against the genuineness of the entire history now attributed to Asser, this beautiful anecdote has been received as one of the authentic parts of his work: and who would wish it to be otherwise? It is supposed, however, to have been mutilated in some of the particulars: namely in the date, which should be A.D. 860, and in the name of the Queen, which should be Osburh, the Saxon, and not Judith of France.⁶⁰

After this narrative, I will detain you no longer than to remark, that however exclusive or limited the subject which has now occupied your attention may appear to be,—it cannot be regarded as otherwise than full of the greatest importance and interest.

⁶⁰ The Life of King Alfred, by Dr. Reinhold Pauli, Edited by T. Wright, F.S.A. Lond. 1852. 8vo. p. 87.

Illuminations have preserved for posterity some of the most valuable monuments of costume and manners, which have no other visible existence; and the works of many Artists of the highest eminence in their times, which are not anywhere else to be discovered. The History of Illumination also becomes ennobled, by the intimate connection which existed for Seven Hundred Years between the practice of it and the Advancement of the Fine-Arts; the Extension of Literature; the Services of Religion, both public and private; and the Adorning and Preservation of the Text of The Holy Scriptures.

LECTURE II.

ON THE

MATERIALS AND PRACTICE OF

ILLUMINATORS;

AND ON THE

BIOGRAPHY AND LITERATURE

OF THE

ART OF ILLUMINATION.

INTRODUCTION.—Statement of Subjects comprised in the Second Lecture—Difficulty of identifying and explaining the Materials and Practice of Mediæval Artists, with Modern Colours and Methods of Painting—Probable Routine followed in the production of an Illuminated Manuscript.

Preparing the Vellum-leaves.

Writing of the Text.

Notices of the Monastical Scriptorium, and of eminent Writers of Manuscripts.—Eadfrith and Æthewold, Godeman, Ervenius—Don Jacopo Fiorentino and Don Silvestro.

The Antiquity of a Quill-Pen illustrated.

Progress of the Drawings in a Manuscript : the Outlines traced and shaded with Ink.

Ink of the Middle-ages as used by Scribes and Illuminators

Unfinished Illuminated Manuscripts, shewing the Process followed in the Painting.

Opaque-Colours only used by the Ancient Illuminators. Tinted Illuminated Manuscripts.

GILDING in Manuscripts the First operation. Different Preparations of Gold. *Flat Gilding*—*Raised Gilding*. Graving, Embossing, Diapering, Burnishing.

COLOURS OF THE ANCIENT ILLUMINATORS and Fresco-Painters.

Whites : Ceruse, or Flake-White—Lime or Chalk White.

Yellows : Ochre—Naples-Yellow—Yellow and Red Orpiment—*Arzica*—*Porporina*—Modern Yellows.

Reds—Scarlet : Cinnabar or Vermilion—Minium, or Red-Lead.
Crimson : Lacca—Grana—Carminium—Folium—Dragon's-blood—
Amatito—Rossetto. *Deep Brown Reds* : Sinoper—Brunus.

Browns : Sepia—Bistre—Umber—Modern Browns.

Purples : Folium—Grana, or Cochineal—Compound Purples—
Madder-Purple.

Blues : Indigo—Ultramarine—*Azzurro Della Magna*, or Cobalt.

Greens : Verde Terra—Verde Azzurro—Emerald Green—Verdigris
—Compound Greens.

Black and Grey.

Methods of Preparing and keeping Opaque Water-Colours.

Ancient Painting-pencils and brushes.

Directions of Ancient Artists for Colouring

Gold pencillings and hatchings in Manuscripts and other Paintings
down to the Sixteenth century. The making of Gold-powder and
Gold Ink.

The Principles of Beauty and Richness of Colouring to be derived
from the finest Manuscripts, and applied to Modern Illuminations.

Works of Instruction in Illuminating and on Colours.

The Binding of Manuscripts.

The Presentation of Manuscripts—The Ceremony commonly repre-
sented in Illuminations.

Lydgate's Life of St. Edmund, Written and Illuminated for Henry
VI. during his visit to the Abbey at St. Edmundsbury.

NOTICES OF ARTISTS who were ILLUMINATORS: their Names
often known irrespective of their Works, and Paintings irrespective of
the Artists.

Difficulty of distinguishing between Writers and Illuminators by
the Inscriptions found in Manuscripts.

Greek *Chrysographi* or Gold-Writers. Celebrated Illuminators
from the Sixth to the Sixteenth Century.

The Painters of St. Stephen's Chapel.

LITERARY HISTORY OF THE ART OF ILLUMINATING.

The real value of Illuminations in Manuscripts gradually pointed
out and illustrated by Casley and in the Harleian Catalogue—Astle—
Strutt—the Abbé Rive—Willemin—Dibdin, and Shaw.

Gradual Improvement in the Representation of Illuminated Paintings
from the time of Strutt.

Chromo-Lithography the only perfect process for producing Copies
of Illuminations and Specimens of Paleography.

Notices of the principal Works produced by it by L. Curmer,
Du Sommerard, H. N. Humphreys, Silvestre, Westwood, the Comte
Bastard, the Comte De Viel-Castel, and Ferdinand Séré—
Lemercier's Illuminated edition of Marillac's version of the Imita-
tion de Jésus Christ.

CONCLUSION.

II.

ON

THE MATERIALS AND PRACTICE

OF THE

ANCIENT ILLUMINATORS,

AND ON THE

LITERATURE OF THE ART OF ILLUMINATION.

IN conformity with the plan proposed in the previous Lecture, we are now to proceed to an attempt at elucidating the EXECUTIVE or PRACTICAL part of the ART OF ILLUMINATION ; including some account of the Materials and processes employed for producing those splendid specimens of their skill which the Illuminators of the Middle-Ages have left to posterity. This enquiry is really little less than a review of the Early History of Painting in Miniature, and almost of that of Drawing in Water-Colours. There are still extant many very valuable Ancient Treatises concerning such Colours, and even of the manner of using them ; yet there must be always considerable difficulty in conveying to the hearers of a later age the information belonging to the professors of a period which has so long since passed away. The works whence nearly all our practical knowledge is derived, are written for the most part in Latin or Italian. In those languages they might be supposed to be very easily intelligible ; but they contain such a number of antique and obsolete words, and of doubtful and provincial names

of articles employed in the ancient process of painting,—sometimes added to a peculiarly quaint phraseology and a general want of explicitness in the directions,—that conjecture is not unfrequently the best guide for the understanding of them. Something like the ensuing order appears, however, to have been followed during the best ages of Mediæval Calligraphy and Illuminating, in the production of a well-written and well-decorated Manuscript.

In making-up the quantity of any volume, whatsoever might be its extent, the scribe must have been guided by the size and quantity of vellum or parchment supplied to him; which was counted into certain small parcels called "*Gatherings*," consisting of four, or more leaves; which may be regarded as equivalent to the sheets of the printers of the present time. In a Latin Bible of the Eleventh century, which belonged to Cardinal Mazarin, two specimens of which were published in Silvestre's *Paléographie Universelle*,¹ the Editors of that work observe that "each gathering is so arranged as to bring together the white pages and the yellowish ones; so that on opening the volume the same shade of colour is preserved."

It must always be remembered that in ancient manuscripts, and down even to most of the printed-books of the Fifteenth century, we are not to look for either title-pages or pagination; and but rarely for tables of contents, or any of those modern accurate book-notes, by which the completeness of a volume may be so readily ascertained. On the first page of a gathering of parchment leaves, the ordinal number of it was written close to the lowest edge in small Roman numerals,—exactly corresponding with the signature of the sheet in modern books. It was written in that place, with the intention either that it should be unobserved by the reader, or at some future time should be cut off. The latter is usually the case, but the number of the gathering is not unfrequently to be found in manuscripts. At the end of the same section of leaves, and in a similar place, the scribe wrote the word with which the first page of the next gathering was to commence; a practice which was long continued by printers in the form of "*Catch-words*," though it

¹ *Paléogr. Univ.* Plate CLXXXVII. Madden, ii. p. 489.

has now generally become obsolete. For the sake of preserving the appearance of uniformity in the hand-writing, the last and first pages of each section of leaves which were to be placed opposite to each other, were written by the same scribe. The intervening parts of the gatherings were arranged either by the agreement of the sense between one leaf and the next, or were assumed to be complete simply by counting the number of leaves. With respect to those manuscripts which contained several different treatises, the practice was sometimes to set down in a table,—though rarely, and at a late period,—the initial-words with which every tract commenced or ended; or to specify the number of sections or chapters contained in each book. It will probably be readily remembered, that something like this practice is still uniformly followed in all the Authorised Impressions of The Holy Scriptures. The original intention of it evidently was, to identify the completeness of the volume, and to shew that any chapters exceeding the specified canonical number in any book must be rejected as spurious.

After the quantity and form of a manuscript had been determined on, the next process was to prepare the parchment or vellum on which it was to be copied by pouncing and ruling; for the material to be written upon or painted was always to be prepared, either by being rubbed over with the powdered bone of the cuttle-fish, or with the ashes of certain kinds of wood or bone, burned and pulverised for this particular purpose. A wheel armed with teeth at equal distances,—still used by the modern law-stationers, was then run down on each side of a page, whereon the marginal-lines were already determined, *to indicate the spaces between which the scribe was to write*. The ruling of these pages from one punctured point to another, appears to have been executed sometimes by a fine red-ink line, apparently often changed into brown by the chemical action of an iron pen; and sometimes by a style or pencil made of tin and lead, well beaten together. This process leads us to the *Transcription of the Manuscript*; and to the *SCRIPTORIUM*, or Writing-chamber, of the Religious-house in which it was executed. Without attempting to pursue the labours of the

scribe who copied the work, a few descriptive notices of these apartments in which books were written, will not be foreign to our subject in this place.

The Rule of St. Victor of Paris defines the *Scriptorium* to be a place devoted to the Transcription of Sacred books; remote, but yet included within the limits of the cloister; where, without noise or any disturbance, the writers might quietly pursue their work. "There too, whilst they sit and labour, silence ought to be observed as in the cloister; nor should there be any superfluous ease or wanton idleness therein. Visitors also ought not to be admitted to the writers; *nor indeed any*, excepting the Abbot, the Prior, the Sub-Prior, and the *Armarius*, or Precentor." The Abbot always ordered such books as were to be transcribed, and without his permission nothing else was to be written: the subjects were always sacred, or at the least ecclesiastical; though a few other works, which entered into the scheme of ecclesiastical-education, were also included. Some of those incidental notices which are yet extant relating to the monastic Writing-chambers, appear to indicate that the transcribers very frequently wrote from oral-dictation: the *Armarius* being the person appointed to distribute, and even to *pronounce*, the matter to be written; as well as to supply the writers with all their materials.

Though the *Scriptorium* was a place devoted principally to the *copying* of books, other employments were carried on in it, which, however, were probably all of a cognate character; and such as were regarded by the more literate Monastical-Orders as being especially proper to ecclesiastics. Guigues, or Gui, the Second of the name, General of the Carthusians at the close of the Twelfth century,—when treating "Of the Fourfold Duties of the Cell," gives a noble summary of occupations connected with books, proper to the Brethren of the Order, all of which might have been performed in the *Scriptorium*. "The composing, or the completing, or the binding, or the externally-ornamenting, *or the Illuminating*, or the entitling, or anything belonging to the ordering, making, and preserving, of books, ought to be diligently pursued." In our notices of the *Scriptorium*, we should also observe that it was

sometimes consecrated by an especial benediction, which prayed that "whatsoever books of The Holy Scriptures should be read or written *there*, the true sense thereof might be received into the mind, and the good work perfected" which those Scriptures were to perform.²

The Writers in this apartment were certain of the Brethren who were appointed by the Abbot; for though they were all taught to write well enough for any ordinary occasion, the skill required for transcribing a volume appears to have been always sufficiently uncommon to be regarded as a very honourable accomplishment, and to be thought worthy of especial memory. The names of many eminent Writers and Illuminators have been preserved, all of whom became superior ecclesiastics, as Abbots or Bishops. In the Thirteenth century, a Brother of the Convent of St. Swithin at Winchester was recommended as Abbot for the vacant Abbacy of Hyde, because he was "well versed in the glosses of the Sacred text, was *very skilful in writing, was a good artist in painting initial-letters*, was perfectly instructed in the Rule of St. Benedict, and was most learned in psalmody."³ In connection with this part of our subject, it will not be uninteresting to lay before you some other instances of Ecclesiastical personages of rank, who were also celebrated as Calligraphers and Decorators of Manuscripts.

About the commencement of the Eighth century, Eadfrith and Æthelwold, both Abbots of Lindisfarne, and successively Bishops of Durham, wrote and illuminated the splendid Durham Book of the Gospels in the Cottonian Library, which was particularly referred to in the previous Lecture. About A.D. 970 Godeman, who wrote, and, as it is supposed, illuminated, the magnificent Benedictional in the Library of the Duke of Devonshire, was made Abbot of Thorney in Cambridgeshire, by St. Æthelwold, for whom he had executed that wonderful volume. Ten years after this period, a youth named Wolstan, who subsequently became Bishop of Worcester, was instructed in fine writing, if not also in illuminating,

² Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis. Car. Du Fresne, Dom. Du Cange. Tom. vi. Par. 1736, coll. 262-265.

³ Warton's History of English Poetry. 1775. 4to. i. p. 445, note f. 8vo. 1824. ii. p. 281, note f.

by Ervenius, or Erwen, a monk, as it is supposed, of St. Edmondsbury Abbey. Wolstan appears to have been allured to the love and patronage of literature by the same means as Alfred; namely, the splendours of an Illuminated Manuscript: for William of Malmesbury relates, that his tutor instructed him from a Sacramentarium and Psalter, which he had transcribed very fairly, and of which he had enriched the principal characters with gold. "Thus," continues the biographer, "the youth Wolstan acquired, almost by miracle, the chief heads of the most precious things; for whilst those lustrous beauties entered in at the apertures of his eyes, he received the knowledge of sacred letters into his very heart."⁴

But there is upon record a memorial of the calligraphical excellence and of the posthumous honours of two of the Brothers of the Camaldulan Monastery "*degli Angeli*," at Florence, more extraordinary than any of those which we have already noticed; and Filippo Baldinucci tells the story, literally "writ in choice Italian," thus:—"About the year 1340," says this Historian of Painting,— "there came into the aforesaid Monastery, a monk of holy manners, named Dom. Jacopo Fiorentino; who, valuing every moment of time which was not employed on his monastic duties, had acquired, by great application, the skill of writing in that kind of character which is the most in request for choir-books, such as are chiefly written on vellum: for which, with great reason, he had an eminent name, with even the most excellent of those possessed of the same faculty, who either went before him or came after him. He not only wrote so many as twenty massive choral-books for his own monastery, which were the largest that had been seen in all Italy at the time, but also a great many for Rome, Venice, and Murano:—for all which he was not only celebrated during his life, but after his decease, the Brethren of his Order preserved in worthy keeping and in memory of him, *that Hand of His*, which had been so excellently employed for the service of holy chaunting. At the same time, and in the same Monastery, there lived another Brother, named Don Silvestro, who was singularly excellent as a

* H. Wharton—*Anglia Sacra*. Tom. ii. Lond. 1691. p. 244.

painter in miniature; and he decorated those very books with ornaments and figures, with marvellous art and diligence. They were seen and highly praised, by the best artists of the best ages of painting; and also by Leo X., who declared that he had often heard them praised by his father, Lorenzo the Magnificent. Don Silvestro was so greatly esteemed by all, and especially by his own brethren, that after his death also they accorded to him the same honour as that which they had given to Jacopo, and *Embalmed His Right Hand*, to be preserved in the like worthy keeping to his endless memory.”⁵

From the Writing-chamber and the Writers of Manuscripts, we arrive at length at their Illumination. Blanks of different dimensions proper to the subject, were left throughout the whole manuscript, for the insertion of Illuminated Initial-letters, which were indicated by a very small character written, and subsequently printed, in the vacancy, intended to be covered by the opaque colouring and gilding of the finished capital. There is not any conclusive evidence extant to shew whether these ornaments were executed in the common *Scriptorium* of a monastery, or in the *Cubacula*, or small private studies of those brethren who understood the art of painting; but it is not at all unlikely that they were in general produced in those retired apartments. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Life of St. David, has given an entire section to an account of a copy of St. John's Gospel, which the British Missionary commenced writing in gold and silver letters, “in his own particular scriptorium” in the Cænobium of the monks of Menevia.⁶ There can be no doubt, however, that all the rubrics, or other writing of a manuscript,—being executed in simple colours only,—must have been inserted by an ordinary scribe: and out of the very significant word *Illuminare*, of the middle-ages, has been deduced “*Miniare*, as if it had been meant to write in *Minium*, or vermillion; or to express a decorator in that colour.” This remote derivation is attributed to Sir Henry Spelman; but a much more

⁵ Delle Notizie de' Professori del Disegno. Firenze, 1686. 4to. Decennale VI. del Secolo II. T. ii. p. 61.

⁶ Anglia Sacra. Tom. ii. p. 635.

natural and vivid interpretation is supplied by Du Cange. He says that *Illuminare* signifies to paint, or to shade—that is to cover,—but rather to *enlighten*—with colours : and that by *Illuminator*, was meant an artist who painted with gold.⁷ None of the words however, appear to be older than the Eleventh or Twelfth century.

Much of our present knowledge of the practice of painting used by the more ancient artists, has been derived from the sources of information opened up by the researches made under the authority of the Government, connected with the process of fresco-painting down to the Sixteenth century ; and to the publication of a number of interesting old manuscript works relating to the technical part of painting in foreign countries. The results of these enquiries have been printed by the order of Parliament, and also in separate volumes edited by Mrs. Merrifield, Mr. Hendrie, and M. Didron.⁸ One of the most valuable of those pieces, is an elaborate practical Treatise of the Art of Painting in Oil, Fresco, and Distemper, drawn up about the end of the Fourteenth century, by an accomplished artist named Cennino, the son of Andrea Cennini, another painter, a pupil of Giotto. It appears to include the whole of his own experience at the time.⁹

It is well known to Ecclesiastical-antiquaries, that the large mural-paintings and folding tables executed for churches and other edifices during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries, partook very much of the character of manuscript-illuminations ; and therefore all the instructions of Cennino for the execution of such pictures, are

⁷ Hon. H. Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, Edit. Dallaway, Vol. I. p. 74. Note. In the *Third* and best edition of Spelman's Glossary, 1687, the derivation of *Illuminare* adopted by Mr. Dallaway, and noticed in the text, is not to be found. Glossar. ad Script. Med. et Infimæ. C. Du Fresne. Tom. iii. 1733. Col. 1316.

⁸ Reports of the Commissioners on the Fine-Arts, I-IX. 1842-1850. Original Treatises, dating from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Centuries, on the Arts of Painting in Oil, Miniature, Mosaic, and on Glass : preceded by a general Introduction ; with Translations, prefaces, and notes. By Mrs. M. P. Merrifield. Lond. 1849. 8vo. 2 vols. An Essay On Various Arts, in three books, by Theophilus, called also Rugerus, Priest and Monk. Translated, with notes, by Robert Hendrie. Lond. 1847. 8vo. Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétien, avec une Introduction et de notes par M. Didron. Paris, 1845. 8vo.

⁹ A Treatise on Painting written by Cennino Cennini, in the year 1437, and first published in Italian in 1821, with an Introduction and notes by Sign. Tamberoni. Translated by Mrs. Merrifield. Lond. 1844. 8vo.

valuable directions even for the execution of the ornaments which are proper to books and miniatures. He devotes, however, several chapters of his work solely to such drawings as were to be made on parchment or paper; to tracing the outlines with a metal style, or a quill-pen; and to tinting them with light colours previously to the final painting.¹⁰ The pencil which was used for ordinary sketching at this very early period on paper, or parchment covered with bone-dust,—was a style of silver, or of brass with a silver point, “fine and polished,” says Cennino; who also adds, however, that “it is possible to draw on parchment, without bone-dust, with a style of lead; that is to say with two parts of lead and one of tin, well beaten together:” the marks of which he stated may be removed by crumb of bread. In this very rude instrument lies the germ of the most perfect black-lead pencils of the present time; but it was in reality nothing more than a fine kind of leaden plummet, which name is actually assigned to it by Skelton so late as the Sixteenth century, in his description of “Maister Newton” designing his wreath as Poet-Laureate, distinguishing it from a hair-pencil for painting.¹¹ A strip of lead in a case of wood or a strong reed, resembling the drawing-pencil to which we are now accustomed, is the *Keelyvine-pen* of North Britain; and an invention which is probably not older than the commencement of the last century.

The next process of an Illuminated-painting, was to pass over the metallic outlines with a fine quill-pen dipped in a preparation of lamp-black and gum, which was known under the general name

¹⁰ Treatise on Painting, Part I. Chapters 8-26. P. 5-13.

¹¹ “Castyng my syght the chambre about,—
To se how dully ich thying in ordre was,—
Towarde the dore, as we were comyng oute,
I sawe Maister Newton sit, with his compass,
His plummet, his pensell, his spectacles of glas;
Devysing in pycture, by his industrious wit,
Of my Laurell, the process every whitte.”

A ryght delectable Treatyse upon a goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell. 1523. v. 1093. Skelton's Works, Edit. Dyce, 1843. Vol. i. p. 405. There does not appear to be any other notice extant of “Maister Newton,” the artist who is mentioned in the text: but, from the descriptive passages relating to Skelton's chaplet which occur in subsequent parts of the same poem, it may reasonably be conjectured that he made designs for goldsmiths and jewellers.

of Ink. We will not now attempt to determine the real antiquity of a quill-pen; but we may venture on bringing before you a few notices relating to the early use of an instrument so unassuming in appearance and so mighty in operation. In the Seventh century St. Isidore states, that writers were accustomed to employ either reeds, or sticks taken from trees, that is to say wooden styles,—or the feather of a bird. But a document has been published by Adrian of Valois as early as the Fifth century, to which Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, subscribed the first four letters of his name, written with a feather-pen.¹² There exists, however, a much more ancient and remarkable evidence of the general use of this instrument, in that part of the ruins of Pompeii which has been named “the Street of the Silversmiths,” in a very rude delineation on a wall, of a profile bust of a Scribe named Faventinus, having a long feather-pen placed behind his ear; with an inscription declaring his name and occupation, and entreating for him the patronage of the *Ædile*.¹³ By the Fourteenth century, therefore, the quill-pen had become universally known; and it is not surprising to find such explicit directions on record for making it, as those which are set down by Cennino and translated by Mrs. Merrifield. The only remarkable feature of that passage is, that the slit in the pen is never mentioned.¹⁴

There are many specimens of manuscripts still extant, originally intended to be illuminated, the drawings in which, however, remain in the first state of outlines only, traced with a pen; and Silvestre has copied one from a volume of the Fourteenth century, in the Bibliothèque Royale, containing the Romance of *Launcelot Du Lac*. The manuscript is ornamented with many characteristic drawings in the Italian style, richly coloured and heightened with gold and silver; and also with a considerable number still remaining in outline.¹⁵

After tracing the subject over with a pen, the next process directed by Cennino, is to wash-in the shades with ink and water of three

¹² *Encyclopédie Méthodique—Antiquités*, iv. 1792. p. 754. *Plume pour Écrire*.

¹³ *Pompeii: Library of Entertaining Knowledge*. 1836. i. p. 133, 134.

¹⁴ *A Treatise on Painting*. Part I. chap. 14. p. 8.

¹⁵ *Paléogr. Univ.* Plate clv.

degrees of strength ; and when the drawing was made on tinted-paper to insert the highest lights in white. There are three examples introduced in M. Silvestre's *Paléographie*, of illuminations of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth centuries, which are remarkable for their very near resemblance to the Indian-ink and tinted drawings of the last century.¹⁶ It must be remembered, however, that the composition which was universally called *Ink*, three hundred years before, was substantially the same preparation: consisting principally of the concentrated black deposit from the burners of lamps, combined with various gums. Du Halde has published several forms and directions, both ancient and modern, for making the present well-known China-Ink ; which, as he states, was brought to perfection about the beginning of the Tenth century. It differed, however, from the European Ink of the middle-ages, by being made up with sweet oils being employed for the lamps, and perfumes being added in compounding the black paste ; but more especially by the composition thus prepared being cast by means of moulds into hard cakes of different forms, bearing different appropriate inscriptions.¹⁷ These cakes required to be rubbed down with water on an ink-stone of slate or marble ; but the Ink referred to by Cennino is usually considered to have been a black mass prepared in the proportions directed by Dioscorides, of a pound of gum to three ounces of lamp-black. The modern Arabian method of rendering this ink fluid, is to add to it a little water with a spoon ; but in the Fourteenth century a few drops of the ink were put into a small vase half-full of water, with which the general shades of the drawing were to be laid on. After this tinting, Cennino adds in the most encouraging terms, " you will then have made an agreeable design, which will cause all men to fall in love with your works." Now, without having arrived at this very desirable degree of excellence, the merit of an illumination, taken by M. Silvestre from a Flemish Manuscript of the Legend of St. Catherine executed in the Fifteenth century, will be quite evident to every one.¹⁸

¹⁶ Paléogr. Univ. Plates CLXXXIX., CXCIV., CCXXXIV.

¹⁷ A Description of China. Lond. 1738. Fol. i. p. 370-372.

¹⁸ Paléogr. Univ. Plate CCXXXIV. Madden, ii. p. 645.

The drawing referred to is made in different shades of watered ink, with some lights on the dresses laid on with white, and the whole picture relieved with gilding. The literary Editors of Silvestre's publication consider that the Miniatures in this volume are painted *en Grisaille*—rather *en Camaïeu*—heightened with gold; and they state that there are not more than two or three other manuscripts known to be executed in this style, which would appear to be peculiar to some miniaturists of the Flemish school. At this period, however, Flanders was the great emporium, and almost the manufactory, of illuminated books, which were produced in great variety, excellence, and profusion, at Bruges; and it is probable that the manuscript in question was *in progress only in regard of the miniatures*, when it was brought out of the country. The art of miniature-painting, at the time when illuminated volumes were most extensively produced in Italy, was divided into two branches. “The professors of the first,” says Mrs. Merrifield, “were styled *Miniatori*, or Miniature-painters, or Illuminators of books; and those of the second *Miniatori Calligrafi*, or *Pulchri Scriptores*. To the first class belonged the task of painting the Scripture-stories, the borders, and the arabesques; and of laying on the gold and ornaments of the manuscripts. The second wrote the whole of the work, and inserted those initial-letters generally drawn with blue or red, full of flourishes and fanciful ornaments.¹⁹” The latter of these artists had completed his part in the manuscript copied by Silvestre, for the initials are quite finished; but the historical painter had not proceeded farther than to shade his picture with ink, to insert the gold ornaments, and in this specimen to illuminate the canopy and reredos of a throne with crimson and gold. Another very remarkable example of a work which was also possibly unfinished as to the illuminations, is given by Silvestre from a very fine and complete manuscript of the *Chronicles of Enguerrand De Monstrelet*, in three volumes folio, in the *Bibliothèque Royale*. It was transcribed by Antoine Bardin, for his patron François De Rochechouart, about the commencement of the Sixteenth century: and it contains seventy-four historical illustrations, carefully traced and shaded

¹⁹ Ancient Practice of Painting, 1849. Vol. i. Introd. p. xxix.

with strong lines drawn with a pen, and ink which has changed to a dark brown colour; relieved and heightened by the appropriate gilding. In the battle-scene copied by Silvestre, however, the banners, and the armorial-ensigns of the family for which the volumes were written, are painted in their proper colours.²⁰

Of course it cannot now be positively affirmed, that either of the manuscripts which have been considered were not perfected to the extent originally designed;—but they have notwithstanding very much the appearance of unfinished pictures, which the principal artist had prepared for another to cover with the proper colours, according to the shades indicated by the tints of the ink and the hatchings of the pen. It may be observed, also, that the gilding of the illuminations is finished; and the order followed by modern heraldical artists is to complete the gilding of a painting before laying-on any of the colours, to avoid rubbing them in burnishing the gold: and this may be only the traditional practice of the illuminators and herald-painters of the middle-ages. It is likely that all the Raised or Embossed Gold-grounds were first executed, by the metal leaf being laid on a thick smooth bed composed of fine plaster and Armenian-bole carefully ground together. They were then burnished; and when it was intended that this part of the work should be decorated with gravings, or patterns cut into the bed of raised-gold, they were then introduced. After these the large masses of flat painted-gilding were added, and the colours were laid on with great precision as to the gradation of the tints. All the diapering, pencilling, and brilliant touches of gold and white, were doubtless inserted by a superior artist as the last operation; and this process also is consistent with the practice of modern herald-painters on vellum, who introduce the highest gilded lights on the lambrequins of the mantling round a shield of arms, as some of the latest touches to be given to the work.

When Cennino first gives directions for colouring, it is only

²⁰ Paléogr. Univ. Plate ccii. Madden, ii. p. 561. There is a short curious notice of some unfinished parts of a very fine French Chronicle preserved by Dr. Dibdin in his *Bibliographical Decameron*, 1817, vol. i. p. cxvi. In a large historiated initial there are three faces coloured, the rest of it being left in outline traced in a light shade of ink; the drawing thus exhibiting the process followed by the illuminator.

incidentally, and in connection with drawings traced with the pen, in that delicate manner of delineating figures which we noticed in the former Lecture as being peculiarly characteristic of the Fourteenth century.²¹ "Draw lightly," says he, in reference to the use of the pen, "and gradually leave the lights, and half-lights, and shadows, going over the latter many times with the pen: and, if you would have your drawings very beautiful, use a little water-colour, as before directed, with a hair-pencil."²² The words "as before directed," refer to some previous instructions for the shading of a pen-drawing with ink; in which the colouring-matter was to be put into water, instead of the modern practice of adding the water to the colours.

These directions naturally lead us particularly to notice the method which the ancient artists followed in the use of water-colours. In all their most finished works the tints were laid on in a solid opaque condition and not transparent, and the frequent failure of modern copies of ancient illuminations, is chiefly to be attributed to this peculiarity of the primitive practice having been altogether overlooked. Such drawings are usually executed with water-colours formed into cakes, which have not in themselves sufficient body to represent the rich deep surface of the old miniature-painters. The Chinese artists, long before they had received European instruction, succeeded much better in this particular; and the Italian painters of landscapes and antiquities on soft leather, fully understand the value of opaque powder-colours prepared with gum, in producing a clear and equal tint of great force and richness, which no other means will ever successfully imitate.

Several interesting remarks on the process of Painting an Illuminated Manuscript, were published in 1801, by the Chevalier Armand Gaston Camus, in a Memoir on the Miniatures contained in two Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale. One of these was a very fine *Historiated Bible*, comprising a great number of illuminations executed in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth, centuries; and, from the different states in which he found those

²¹ Page 21. See also Silvestre, *Paléogr. Univ.* Plate cxciv.

²² *Treatise on Painting*, b. i. c. 13. p. 8.

pictures, M. Camus deduced the order of working followed by the several artists. He observes that those "who performed this kind of painting, did not finish each picture separately, but executed the same operation on several miniatures successively. Thus they first laid on the gold and silver, or rather the copper and brass, on such parts of the pages as were to be covered with metal, and afterwards added the colours, whether blue, green, or yellow, on a number of the pictures, in broad flat masses, to be heightened or deepened for the lights and shadows."²³ Cennino also directs that the gilding should be first laid on in paintings on panels or in fresco; and the same order may be followed in this account of the probable process of Illuminating a Manuscript.

The Gilding employed by the Illuminators of the Middle-ages was of two kinds: that which was *Flat*, and sometimes used as a Writing-Ink, or laid on like an ordinary colour; and the *Raised* or *Embossed Gold*, which is to be found in the greatest perfection in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries. It was observed in the previous Lecture, that the Gold-Inks of the Greek *Chrysographi* appear to have been made of granulated metal, levigated into a thick paint; but, as the practice of beating gold into leaves is indisputably very ancient, there can be little doubt that the metal in such a state was used for grinding. It is also probable that by the Fourteenth century gold-leaf was ground with honey, carefully washed, and the powder mixed with gum-water, as it is at the present time. In the Treatise Concerning Divers Arts, written about the Twelfth century by Theophilus,—the pulverisation and levigation of gold for painting form a very difficult process. He directs that pure gold should be filed into a cup, and then washed with a pencil in the shell of a sea-fish; after which it is to be milled in a mortar made of copper and tin, with a long pestle worked by a strap acting on a wheel. The gold-filings are then to be milled in water for two or three hours, and gradually poured off as they become fine. The powder thus produced was to be tempered with isinglas, and laid on a ground of red lead, mixed

²³ Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres Bibliothèques. Tome vi. p. 120. Paris, An. ix. 4to.

with white of egg; after which it was burnished with a blood-stone, a shining horn tablet being placed under the gilded picture. The Anglo-Saxon method of preparing gold for writing, was by rubbing gold-filings in a mortar with the sharpest vinegar, and then dissolving it in salt and nitre.²⁴

Mr. Gage Rokewode has preserved a curious reference to the levigation of gold for illuminating, from an ancient Dialogue between a Cistercian and a Cluniac, on the various cloistral observances of the two Orders; in which the former monk says, "To grind gold, and therewith delicately to paint large capital letters; what is this but an useless and an idle labour?"²⁵ Neither of these Orders, however, was literary, but only rural and agricultural. It was probably to such illiterate brotherhoods that Alcuin referred in the Ninth century, in his Latin verses composed to be suspended in "the Museum for Writing of Books" in the Monastery at Tours:—

"Write thou the Sacred Books: 'tis now a deed
Of noblest worth which never lacks its need:
'Tis better in *Transcribing Books to toil,*
Than vines to culture or to delve the soil;
Since he who lives to meaner works confined
May serve his body, but this feeds his mind."

The transcription of the Sacred Scriptures was a duty positively enjoined on some of the Monastical Orders as a meritorious work; and in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries the practice was continued by the Puritans and Non-Conformists, both for the practice of writing, and also for preserving the English Version of the Scriptures from being entirely lost in any political revolution.

It is however the Raised, Embossed, and Diapered Gilding, which must always be regarded as the most characteristic feature of the illuminated volumes of the best periods. It is that operation which in 1734, Casley considered to be "lost to painters:" and the process by which the raising of the gold was performed, has been always an interesting subject of careful enquiry with

²⁴ De Diversis Artibus, l. i. c. xxx. p. 36-38. History of the Anglo-Saxons by Sharon Turner. 1828. B. ix. c. vii. v. iii. p. 441.

²⁵ Archæologia, Vol. xxiv. p. 23, Note p.

those artists and antiquaries who have given any attention to this kind of painting. Several recipes are still extant professing to set forth the ancient methods employed for effecting the Raised Gilding; and the primitive principle in all appears to be, first to lay down a substantial solid bed of unctuous and tenacious paste, which was to be covered with another composition, especially adapted to receive the gilding, and bear the action of the burnisher. There were, of course, several varieties of practice in the execution of this process, but the general principle seems to be uniform; and not greatly differing from the method pursued at the present time by the makers of picture-frames, covered with burnished-gold.

A transcript of such a recipe contained in a manuscript in The British Museum, written in the English of the Fifteenth century, directs that the figures to be gilded, "letters, vynetts, ornaments, or what ye wyll," should be drawn in "the mylke that is in yonge fygges, ere they be fully rype." This paste was then to be left to dry, to be made smooth, and afterwards to be "rubbed over with gold, silver, copper, or what other metall ye lyst," and lastly to be polished with a dog's tooth or an agate. The directions here given evidently mean, that when the thick, viscid composition for raising the gold had been laid on, and was quite dry, it might be covered either with gold-leaf or thin metal,—after being previously wetted with plain water;—or that it might be painted over with the ordinary powdered-gold. In both instances the gilded mass was to be burnished at the precise time when it was most fitted for the operation, but that time can be learned only from careful observation and experience. Other ancient directions for executing Raised Gilding, require that the grounds should be laid in *Gesso-Grosso* and *Gesso-Sottile*, tempered with the whites of eggs; which are, in effect, Plaster-of-Paris combined with animal-size; a composition not very dissimilar to that employed by the modern makers of gilded picture-frames. Very fine modelling-clay, or pipe-clay, combined with isinglas or gelatine as a cement, may also be used for this first ground. The next operation of the ancient process is actually the same as that which is still practised. It is to add a thin covering of Armenian-Bole, ground up with

the *Gesso-Sottile*, or purified plaster; which is found to supply a soft, though tenacious, surface, capable of taking a very lustrous polish, and being at the same time of a colour tending to increase the richness of the gold.²⁶ The art of gilding with Armenian-Bole is attributed by Vasari to Margaritone in the Thirteenth century; but it certainly existed long before. At this point of our inquiry into the practices of mediæval gilding, we are met with a most remarkable proof of the very great antiquity of the art, even in its most perfect form. Many of the finest specimens of resplendent gilding have been discovered in Egypt, on mummy-coffins of remote antiquity, in which a human face is formed in a kind of plaster, made into a mask of very bold relief, and covered over with burnished gold; laid upon some kind of brown unctuous earth, not unlike Armenian-Bole. When Sir Gardner Wilkinson is considering the subject of the ancient Egyptian gilding, he says, "As men advanced in experience, they found that the great ductility of gold enabled them to cover substances of all kinds with thin plates of the metal.—The leaves so used were at first thick; but skill, resulting from experience, soon shewed to what a degree of fineness they *could* be reduced; and we find that in Egypt substances of various kinds were overlaid with fine gold-leaf, at the earliest period of which the monuments remain, even in the time of the First Osirtasen." The same authority adds also, that "the faces of mummies are frequently found overlaid with thick gold leaf; the painted cloth and the wooden coffin were also profusely ornamented in this manner: and the whole body itself of the deceased was sometimes gilded, previous to its being enveloped in the bandages."²⁷

We cannot leave the subject of mediæval-gilding in Europe, without observing that the Illuminators and Fresco-painters of the

²⁶ Cennino—Treatise on Painting, c. 115, 116. p. 68, 69. c. 119. p. 71. c. 131. p. 77. It was sometimes the practice to paint, especially on large subjects, "Relievings," or embossed ornaments, or foliage, even upon the raised gold surface of a mural picture, and to fix in it precious stones to certain ornaments. Cennino, c. 124. p. 74. It is very rarely that such "works in relief" are to be found in Illuminated Manuscripts.

²⁷ Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians. Edit. 1837, iii. p. 234, 236. i. p. 19. The reign of Osirtasen I. is attributed by Sir J. G. Wilkinson to about the year 1740 Before the Christian era.

Fourteenth century, were frequently accustomed to Engrave and Diaper the raised gold backgrounds with points and lines, stars and ornaments, cut through the surface; or with floreations painted upon them in gold of a different colour. Cennino has a short section on the method to be followed in forming those glories, "commonly called crowns," which were insculped in the gilded grounds. "When you have burnished and completed your picture," says he, "you must take the compasses and turn the circles for the glories or crowns. Engrave (*granare*) them with lines and fringes on the edges, adorn them with stamped and sparkling ornaments; and if there be foliage mark the veins in it, and shade all with strokes."²⁸ In large fresco-subjects, these engraved lines were to be made more prominent by being carefully filled up with white-lead and thin glue; but in illuminated manuscripts they appear to have been left without any farther finishing. In the representations of divine and celestial personages executed at this period, there existed a systematic series of glories established some time after the Eleventh century, with peculiar decorations proper to each. They were executed either in painting, gilding, or engraving; and a summary of them will be found in Pugin's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*. Theophilus shews that these decorations were cut with scissors out of beaten gold-leaf.²⁹

For the Burnishing of gilded surfaces Cennino recommends the *Lapis Amatisto*, which is supposed to have been some kind of amethyst. He directs that it should be carefully formed and polished on a grindstone, finished with emerald-dust, and fitted into a handle of copper or brass. He considerably states, however, that "if you have not this stone, sapphires, emeralds, balas-rubies, topazes, and granite, are still better, for those who can afford the expense; and the finer the stone the better it is for the purpose. The teeth of dogs, lions, wolves, cats, leopards, and generally of all carnivorous animals are equally good."³⁰ Eraclius

²⁸ Treatise on Painting, c. 140. p. 83.

²⁹ Pugin's Glossary. Lond. 1844. 4to. p. 167. De Diversis Artibus, i. c. xxiv. p. 28-31.

³⁰ Treatise on Painting, c. 135, 136, p. 80.

in his Latin verses "Of Writing in Gold," written about the Twelfth century, gives his artist the following directions.

"He who would beauteous Writing make in Gold,
 Let him this homely verse peruse and hold :
 In purest wine be the rich metal ground,
 Till well dissolved therein it shall be found :
 Then let it oft be wash'd in water fair,
 For the white page demands this cleansing care :
 With gums and ox-gall be it liquified,
 And, with a reed, well stirred from side to side
 Of the clear vase wherein it may be placed,
 Whenever shining letters should be traced :
 And when the writing shall be dried and smooth,
 Then make it lustrous with a wild-boar's tooth." ³¹

The modern burnishers are usually made of agate, or of the broadest and clearest cutting-teeth of the ox ; either of which may for convenience be fixed in a short handle. The most important directions to be observed in the burnishing of gold, are—that it should be neither too moist nor too dry : that a plate of glass or polished metal be laid beneath the gilded picture, for the producing of a perfectly level surface : that the burnisher should be scrupulously clean, and warmed : and that the polishing should be executed gradually and carefully, by rubbing the gilding with both sides of the stone.

The great expense of employing real gold in illuminated paintings, led to the substitution of leaves of silver, and even of tin, in some manuscripts, but especially in large works, which were laid on with the same size or mordant, and coloured with saffron, tempered with white of egg. Both these metals were extensively used in the decoration of St. Stephen's Chapel and the Palace at Westminster, as well as gold. The Account-Rolls of Edward III. contain entries of 22,150 leaves of gold, which are charged 5s. per hundred, 1000 leaves of silver, at 8d. per hundred, and 1040 leaves of beaten-tin, at 1s. per dozen. The artists who laid on the gold were paid 5d. per day.³²

³¹ Apud Theophili De Diversis Artibus, iii. c. xcvi. p. 392. Merrifield, *Ancient Practice of Painting*, i. p. 190.

³² *Antiquities of Westminster, the Old Palace, St. Stephen's Chapel, etc.* by J. T. Smith. 1807. 4to. p. 217-221.

From this account of the Gilding of Illuminated Manuscripts, we next proceed to consider the Painting of them.

In the enumeration of the Colours employed for this purpose as set down by Mediæval Writers on Art, several are named which it is difficult satisfactorily to identify with any which are now in use. Theophilus states that "the transparent and opaque colours used for parchment are these:—Vermilion, Orpiment, Greek-Green, Dragon's blood, *Granetum*, Indigo, *Carminium*, Saffron, *Folium*, *Brunum*, Minium, White, and Black."³³ In the Thirteenth century Cennino says, that "there are seven natural-colours; whereof four have the nature of earths, as Black, Red, Yellow, and Green; the other three are also natural, but require artificial preparation, as White, Ultramarine, or *Della Magna*, and Naples Yellow."³⁴ We will, however, take these tints in a more methodical order, namely—WHITE, YELLOW, ORANGE, RED, PURPLE, BLUE, GREEN, and BLACK; and endeavour to give some account of them so far as they can be imitated or identified with the colours of modern times; before proceeding to describe the method of preparing them.

In all illuminated miniature-painting, WHITE was a principal and most important pigment, both in a pure state, and also in combination with most other colours, to give body and to produce that solid rich surface which this species of pictures usually exhibits. The principal whites used by the older artists, were the purest White-lead, known under the names of *Ceruse*, *Biacca*, and Flake-white; and two others; one called *Alumen*, and another prepared from slacked-lime, washed and ground, entitled *Bianco San Giovanni*. Cennino represents this pigment as being especially valuable for flesh-tints, and for mixing with other colours.³⁵ In the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries, the clear surface of the vellum was frequently left very slightly shaded for the faces and hands of human figures; but they were also often elaborately

³³ *De Diversis Artibus*, p. 418.

³⁴ *Treatise of Painting*, c. 36. p. 20.

³⁵ *Treatise of Painting*, c. 58, 59. p. 31, 32. In the Account-Rolls of Edward III. of the Expenses for Painting St. Stephen's Chapel, White-lead is charged from 3d. to 4d. per lb.

wrought with opaque colours. Many permanent and substantial whites are made at the present time; and the finest whiting, or Italian white chalk, carefully ground, will be found to make an excellent and a durable colour. When solidly and smoothly laid on, it will successfully imitate the rich ivory-like appearance of the white to be seen in manuscripts of the best periods.

The YELLOWS mentioned by Cennino as the best of his time, consist of Ochre; *Giallorino*, or Naples-Yellow, a compound of the oxides of lead and antimony; Orpiment, a pale yellow, composed of sulphur and white arsenic; and *Risalgallo*, Red-Orpiment, or Orange. All these colours can still be procured; but Indian-Yellow and the different shades of Chrome-Yellow, will be found very valuable additional pigments for modern illuminating. Cennino also enumerates as yellow colours, an infusion of Saffron; *Arzica*, and *Porporina*: the two latter tints cannot now be positively identified; but the first was possibly Massicot, or a yellow prot-oxide of lead, and the last was a gold colour.³⁶

The REDS recommended by the old authors on painting, are of the usual three kinds; Scarlet, Crimson, and those dark reds which approach to brown. To the first species belong *Cinnabar*, or *Vermilion*, properly so called; and *Minium*, or Red-lead, which was employed from the very earliest periods for decorating manuscripts with rubricated titles, or ornaments to be added to initial-letters. The painters of the middle-ages, however, made a much richer colour by mixing the two together; and the scarlet is especially brilliant in the best manuscripts of the Fourteenth century. Master Peter De St. Andemar, in his book of Making Colours, which appears to belong to the end of the Thirteenth century, says, "if any one wishes to illuminate a manuscript, he must not do that with Minium only; because, although the letters may be well-formed, they would not be beautiful, for they would

³⁶ Treatise of Painting, c. 45-50, 150. p. 25-28, 98. The only Yellow colour which appears on the Account-Rolls of Edward III. for Painting St. Stephen's Chapel, is Ochre, which is charged 1½d. per lb. It was probably made lighter by the addition of white; and such parts as were intended to be of the brightest yellow were executed in gold. There are, however, two entries of a colour called "*Teynt*," which in one instance is stated to be "for painting of the angels." It is charged 3s. 4d. and 4s. per lb., and it might possibly be a brilliant yellow, if it were not really a carnation or flesh-colour.

be too pale: he must therefore mix minium with vermilion, that the colour may be brighter. But as I have known some persons ignorant of this mixture, and not knowing how much to put of one sort, nor how much of the other, if they will give their attention to me I will teach them that which is known to me, so that they may remember it. If the vermilion is very good and new, I put two parts of it, and scarcely the third part of minium; but if the minium is dusky and very old, put half or a third part of the vermilion, and make the remainder of minium. For you are to know that the older the vermilion is by nature, the darker and less useful it is; and the darker it is the less of it must be added to the minium."³⁷ The best Vermilion of the present time is that which is imported from China.

The ancient Crimson colours, which form the second class of Reds, appear to have comprised *Lacca*, *Grana*, *Carminium*, *Folium*, Dragon's-blood, and *Amatito*. The mediæval Lake is considered to have been Gum-lake, or the Indian Lac-lake, which is now principally employed for dyeing and making coloured-tinctures; but there was also a lake procured by cutting the ivy in the month of March, and then boiling the exuded matter.³⁸ At the present time superior Lakes are prepared from cochineal and kermes, and the best from the madder-plant; all which pigments were anciently known under the names of *Grana* and *Folium*. The *Carminium* of the ancient painters was possibly only another preparation of cochineal with an alkali and alumine, somewhat like the modern Carminated-Lake. Dragon's-blood is a dull deep resinous red pigment brought from the East Indies, and it is still manufactured into a colour for painting. The mediæval *Amatito*, so far as it can now be identified, is considered to have been Native-Cinnabar, of a purple crimson colour. To all these pure tints, however, must be added the rich and solid carnation, or clear opaque rose-colour called *Rossetto*, which prevails so extensively in illuminated manuscripts from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth

³⁷ Merrifield's *Ancient Practice of Painting*, i. p. 140-143. In the Account-Rolls of Edward III. the Vermilion used in Painting St. Stephen's Chapel is charged 1s. 8d. per lb. and the Red-lead 4d.

³⁸ *Ancient Practice of Painting*, i. p. 146, 190, 310.

century. If it were not the "Teynt for Painting the Angels" on the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel, entered on the Account-Rolls of Edward III., it was probably a compound colour, like the *Light Cinabrese* of Florence, of the Fourteenth century; which was made of the finest and lightest Sinoper mixed with chalk-white. Rose-Pink, which is made from the dye of Brazil-wood and chalk, is the legitimate modern representative of this valuable colour for illuminations. It should be very finely ground, and it may be employed with great effect, either with or without more white, in painting small subjects in borders *en Camaïeu de Cramoisi*, to be shaded with carmine and heightened with gold.

The principal Deep Red of the middle-ages, inclining to brown, was the celebrated *Sinoper*, *Cynopre*, or Porphyry; which latter name conveys a perfect notion of the actual colour. It was found in certain caves in Cappadocia, and derived its name from having been originally manufactured in the city of Sinope.³⁹ It is now known to have been a soft and rich dark red earth, an oxyd of iron, and resembling Armenian-bole; and is commonly regarded as equivalent to the modern Venetian-Red or Indian-Red, whether of foreign or English production. The *Brunus* mentioned by Theophilus as a colour proper for painting on parchment, was in its nature and tint similar to the Sinoper; a red-brown earth which has been identified with the soft red Hæmatite of Cornwall.⁴⁰

Mrs. Merrifield remarks that "it is to be observed that Cennino and his predecessors did not possess any Brown pigments:" but Sepia, or the fluid of the cuttle-fish, is an intense brown, the use of which is of considerable antiquity as an ink; and Bistre, or the soot of wood-fires macerated in water, is supposed to be traceable in the outline-drawings of many early manuscripts. The older Italians were also acquainted with Umber, both raw and burned, and with Cologne-earth; and to these tints the modern illuminator should add Brown-Ochre, Madder Brown, Harding's Auburn, and

³⁹ Cennino—Treatise of Painting, p. 118, 119. The word Sinopis is also to be found with the signification of red-lake. In the Account-Rolls for the Painting of St. Stephen's Chapel Sinopia is charged at 8s., 10s., 11s. 6d., 20s., and even £3 1s. the pound.

⁴⁰ The colour *Brun* appears once on the published Account-Rolls of St. Stephen's Chapel, where it is charged 3d. per lb.

Burned Terra-di-Sienna. The very rich gold bronze-colour, which constitutes the *Camaïeu d'Or* of the Sixteenth century, may be made of Indian-Yellow, Yellow-Ochre, and White; shaded with Brown-Ochre and Auburn, or Burned-Umber. The lights are to be substantially laid on in clear powdered gold, without burnishing.

The most important simple PURPLE of Mediæval Art, was a particular shade derived from the *Folium*; but a very rich tint was also produced from cochineal boiled with alum; and the artists made a fine compound colour from Red-lake mixed with Ultramarine. Madder-Purple will be the best pure colour that can now be procured; and Cobalt and Carmine, with White to give them a clear body, will form a good mixture for illuminating, the shading being laid on with Ultramarine and Lake.

Of all the brilliant hues with which illuminated manuscripts are decorated, there is not one which is more characteristic of their painting than the different kinds of Azure and Blue which they usually profusely exhibit. There are three sorts of BLUE mentioned by Cennino as being adapted for fresco-painting; Ultramarine, *Azzurro Della Magna*, and Indigo. The ancient Indigo is considered by Beckmann to have comprised every kind of blue pigment separated from plants by fermentation, and converted by drying into a substance capable of being levigated; and he supposes that the modern Indigo was imported from India in the First century A.D. When pounded it produces a black powder, and when suspended in water it forms an agreeable mixture of blue and purple; from which last tint probably, it received the ancient name of *Purpurissimum Indicum*.⁴¹ Perhaps this colour was never used entirely pure, unless it might have been during the existence of purple manuscripts and gold writing; but was always more or less mixed with white, to relieve its deep hue: in connection with white-lead it is always a fugitive colour. In the painted Latin Manuscripts noticed in the former Lecture, the Virgil of the Fifth century exhibits a blue much darker than the Terence of the Ninth century; in which it appears as a common azure;⁴² and in the

⁴¹ Beckmann—History of Inventions, 1846, Vol. ii.

⁴² Lecture I. p. 9.

earlier English illuminations the blue is generally deeper than it is found to be after the Thirteenth century. In the age of Cennino Indigo was employed with Flake-white to imitate the richer azures; but at the present time its principal value is for deep shadows, for which also the refined preparation of it called Intense Blue is an excellent tint.

But the finest Azure of the best illuminated manuscripts was the celebrated *Lazzuli*, or Ultramarine, so called because the Lapis Lazuli which produced it was considered to be produced beyond the sea. The great importance of having it pure, induced the older painters to encounter the labour of preparing it for themselves, the method of which Cennino gives at length, and recommends as likely to bring honour to the artist,* since he adds, "keep this secret to yourself, for it is a great acquirement to know how to make it well." Ultramarine, as well as some others of the more important colours of this period, was occasionally made in religious-houses; for when Cennino is treating of the nature of Cinnabar, he says, "if you would labour at it yourself you may find plenty of recipes with the friars:" and Vasari, in his memoir of Pietro Perugino, relates a humorous anecdote illustrative of the great value of Ultramarine, of a prior at Florence who was very successful in making it. At the present time much of the labour anciently required for the production of this colour, is generally dispensed with. In 1828 M. Guimet discovered that a fine blue substance like Ultramarine might be artificially formed, and more than one process has been since successfully employed for making such a lustrous pigment. The French Ultramarine, or *Outer-Mer de Guimet*, or some other factitious substitute of English or German manufacture, is therefore now usually employed; and may be safely adopted in modern illuminations. One of the best expositors of the qualities of colours, Mr. George Field, has stated with his accustomed accuracy, that "these pigments are in general of deep rich blue colours, darker and less azure than fine Ultramarine of the same depths."⁴³ The

⁴³ Chromatography: or a Treatise on Colours and Pigments, and of their powers in Painting: by G. Field. 1841. p. 202.

clear transparent azure of the best painted manuscripts, may therefore be imitated in respect of this colour, either by adding white,—which was the simple and ancient method; or by a better process to be found in the miniatures of the Sixteenth century, and especially in the works of Giulio Clovio. A light transparent wash of clear blue was passed over all the surface intended to be covered, on which the shades were afterwards gradually formed by repeated stippings in deeper tints.

Mr. Field observes that the immense price of Ultramarine in former times, was almost equivalent to a prohibition to its use. He considers that it might probably have been the same substance as the celebrated Armenian-Blue, or *Cyanus* of the ancients. Theophrastus relates that the invention of preparing the latter colour from its original materials, was ascribed in the *Annals of Egypt* to one of the kings of the country; that it was so highly valued that the Phenicians paid their tribute in it; that it was given in presents to princes; and that therefore it was frequently counterfeited.* This last fact leads us to notice the substitute provided for it in the third ancient blue mentioned by Cennino, the *Azzurro Della Magna*, or rather *Azur d'Allemagne*, German Blue, or Cobalt; which he cautions the pupil not to mistake for the true Ultramarine. The best sort of this colour is brought from Saxony, and is a vitreous oxide of cobalt combined with potash and white silicious sand, and with oxide of arsenic. The Cavaliere Tambroni, who originally published Cennino's Treatise, says that it was much used in the time of the author; and it was in all probability the Azure entered on the Account-Rolls of Edward III. for Painting St. Stephen's Chapel, where it is charged 10s. the pound. Another blue, called "Weak Azure," was also employed for the same place, and charged at half that price, which might be the modern Smalt. This preparation is made from Zaffre, which is manufactured from Cobalt, but the finer sorts only of these

* Field's Chromatography, p. 206. Theophrastus De Lapidibus, c. cxviii. Sir J. G. Wilkinson observes that an "Egyptian blue pigment taken from a painted stone, was very similar in the principle of preparation to the modern smalt; and that it agreed with the false Cyanus, which was laid on thicker than the native, or lapis lazuli. Anc. Egyptians, iii. p. 302.

colours should be used for illuminating, and Mr. Field states that those called Dumont's Blue, are remarkably rich and beautiful.

There is a very deep purple Smalt, or Garter-blue, usually known as Royal Blue, or Imperial Smalt, sometimes most improperly introduced into modern illuminations; but it is very difficult to work, it is a fugitive colour both in oil and water, and the tint is seldom to be found in the best examples from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth century.

There are several GREEN colours, both simple and compound, enumerated by Cennino, few of which, however, will be required for the painting of illuminations. He commences with a simple pigment called *Verde Terra*, or Green Bice, which is a blue-green ochre, not bright, though very durable; and possessing but little body, yet from its unctuous nature being almost equal to Armenian-Bole in making a thick paste for gilding. It appears to have been used by illuminators and the older artists as a ground or middle-tint, which might be glazed with Verdigris, or heightened with any of the brighter and solid green colours; and it may be properly employed as the general colouring for paintings *en Camaïeu Vert*. *Verde Azzurro* was a richer green prepared from Cobalt with the addition of iron and zinc; it is now known as Cobalt-Green, and is a pure though not very powerful colour. It was possibly the pigment called *Cynople* on the Account-Rolls for Painting St. Stephen's Chapel, where it is charged 20s. and 30s. the pound, Sinople being the old French heraldical term for Green. The best modern colour of this hue is called Emerald-Green, one of the most vivid of its class; it works well in water, is rather opaque, and is powerfully reflective of light. It may be glazed and shaded with Sap-Green and Prussian-Green.

The name of the colour called Verdigris, has been derived from *Verd-de-gris*, and *Viride Æris*; but on the Account-Rolls of St. Stephen's Chapel, it is entered as "*Viridisgrece*" and "*Vert de Grece*," which identify it with the *Viride Græcum* or Greek-Green of Theophilus, as one of the colours proper to be used on parchment. For modern illuminations it will not be found very valuable, excepting as a rich glazing tint, since it is destruc-

tive of other pigments when they are mixed with it, and requires separate pencils to be kept for using it. Compound Greens may be made of Naples-Yellow and Cobalt-Green, of Orpiment and Ultramarine, and of Cobalt-Blue and Orpiment, or Chrome-Yellow.

The principal BLACK pigments mentioned by the older writers on painting, are Black Chalk or Ochre, Lamp-Black, the nature of which has been already considered, with Ivory-Black and Bone-Black, and the substances produced by burning the tendrils and young shoots of the vine; which latter was very much esteemed, and closely resembled the modern Frankfort-Black. It seems almost certain that none of these tints were ever employed in a perfectly simple state in any kind of painting; but even in the darkest shades and broadest masses they were probably mixed with white, and various other colours, which produced a fine level half-tint of black, whereon every degree of shading might be most effectively introduced, either by deeper tints of black or with indigo. "Compound blacks," says Mr. Field, "in which transparent pigments are employed, will generally go deeper and harmonise better with other colours than any original black pigment alone: hence lakes and deep blues added to the common blacks, greatly increase their clearness and intensity; and ultramarine has evidently been employed in mixture and glazing of the fine blacks of some old pictures."⁴⁵ For the purpose of modern illuminating, the finest Lamp-Black or Frankfort-Black may be rubbed down from cakes, and mixed with a small quantity of Flake-White with an ivory palette-knife. With a larger addition of white is formed the beautiful grey called "*Veneda*," or "*Neveda*," which is so constantly introduced in the dresses to be found in the best manuscripts of the Fourteenth and following centuries. This fine ancient neutral-tint harmonises with every rich colour with which it can be connected; and in the Sixteenth century it constituted the original *Grisaille*, or *Camaïeu Gris*, which gave the general name that is still extant to all paintings or sketches tinted with one colour only.

⁴⁵ Chromatography, p. 313.

The practice of the ancient painters in preparing and keeping the colours which have been now described, was after they had been carefully ground on a slab of porphyry, to place them in covered glass vessels under water, which preserved them from dust, and always soft and ready for immediate use. The modern Italian painters in opaque-colours, frequently keep them in tin boxes, in dry powders, to be mixed with dissolved gum; and the Chinese artists usually grind their pigments in water, and put them into small saucers. The latter are used with the cement called Indian-glue, which is melted in a separate vessel, and added to every colour as it may be required. The old painters appear to have been especially careful not to allow of their colours being touched by iron, and therefore the substitute for a palette-knife mentioned by Cennino is a thin blade of wood: the modern illuminator will also find that an ivory palette-knife is the best instrument which can be used with opaque water-colours.

As the older artists generally prepared their own materials, they appear almost uniformly to have made their own painting-pencils and brushes. The former were composed of minever-tails set in quills, and the latter of the bristles of "the white domestic pig," bound to a large stick. In the Account-Rolls for the Painting of St. Stephen's Chapel, there are various entries of such articles for making pencils for the painters: Thus we have "Thirty peacocks and swans feathers, and squirrells tails, 2½d;" "one pound of hogs' hair, 1s;" and "thread to bind the painters brushes and pencils, 1d." In whatever manner the feathers might be employed, the number of them supplied for the works appears to have been very considerable; on one occasion there is an entry of seventy, which are charged 2½d., and in another instance a hundred and fifty-three were supplied at 3½d.

Though the directions of the Mediæval Writers on Art are often both full and valuable as to colours and materials, their instructions in respect of their process and principles of colouring are often immethodical and inexplicit, even though they are scarcely less copious. This deficiency may be attributed either to the simplicity of their system, to their unwillingness to communicate

their experience, or to the consideration that the practice of the Art could not be taught by books. "By seeing others work," says Cennino, "you will understand better than by reading;" and in another place he observes "There are many who say that you may learn the Art without the assistance of a master: Do not believe them: Let this book be an example to you, studying it day and night; *but if you do not study it under some master, you will never be fit for anything*; nor will you be able to shew your face with the other masters."⁴⁶

The principles of painting established by the Illuminators of the best ages, appear to have been but few, though of the greatest importance. Theophilus directs that in books all the colours should be laid on once for initial-letters, and twice for miniatures and borders, the first time very thinly and afterwards with more strength.⁴⁷ This method agrees with the instructions given by Cennino of uniformly providing tints of three shades to be laid on separately, though at once in their proper places, without torturing them with the pencil: and there is no doubt that this practice was the chief cause of the fine level colouring of the illuminations executed in the Fourteenth century. Previously to that period the faces of figures were frequently painted in solid colours mixed with white, so laboriously wrought up, that their high finish could not be seen without a close examination, and it was often altogether obscured by the fading or changing of the original pigments. In the earlier portraitures the hatchings and stipplings proper to miniatures are not to be found, and until the Sixteenth century such pencillings do not appear, beyond a few light touches in the faces and the folds of the draperies: but from and after the time of Giulio Clovio the carnations, the dresses, the skies, and the landscapes, were often finished with the greatest care and delicacy.

From a remote period of the middle-ages it had been the practice to introduce gold in the highest lights of illuminated paintings, which was originally derived from the semi-barbaric

⁴⁶ Treatise of Painting, p. 47, c. 104, p. 63.

⁴⁷ De Diversis Artibus, c. cxxxiv. p. 42.

splendour of the Byzantine-school. But when powdered-gold was subsequently employed by artists of superior taste and skill, as a yellow paint of unsurpassable richness and vividity, they made it capable of producing the most powerful and beautiful effects, by brilliant touches in places where no other material could have been used to harmonise so well with the peculiar style of Art belonging to the period. In the Fourteenth century, however, it seems to have been considered, that if such gold hatchings were copiously and laboriously introduced into pictures, in connection with natural colours, nothing less than the most gorgeous beauty would be the result. Cennino appears to have been infected with the bad taste of his time; for he says when treating of the mixing of gold with colours, "if you would paint trees which shall appear like trees of Paradise, take pieces of fine gold sufficient for the work which you are going to paint, and grind them with the well-beaten white of an egg." He directs that green should be mixed with preparation for the dark leaves of trees, or other colours as they may be found desirable. In the life of Cosimo Roselli as related by Vasari, there is a remarkable anecdote which alike represents the improvement of most artists at the period, and the remains then existing of the old practice of introducing gold into paintings. Roselli died in 1484, previously to which time Domenico Ghirlandajo is said to have been the first of his nation to explode gilding from pictures. Sixtus IV. having offered a prize to be given to the master whom he should consider had best acquitted himself in the paintings executed in the Sistine Chapel, when they were finished the Pope went to see them. When the works of all the artists were exposed, they universally ridiculed the pictures of Roselli; for as he felt conscious of his inability in design, he had sought, says Vasari, "to conceal his deficiencies by covering his work with the finest ultramarine blues and other gorgeous colours: and he had, moreover, illuminated his pictures with a good store of gold, insomuch that there was not a tree, nor herb, nor vestment, nor cloud, but was glittering with light. As Cosimo had expected, those colours at the first glance so dazzled the eyes of the Pope, who did not much understand

such matters although he greatly delighted in them, that he decided Cosimo to have performed better than any one of the others, and accordingly commanded the prize to be given to him. Sixtus then ordered all the other masters to cover their pictures with the best azures that could be found, and to touch them with gold, that they might be equal to those of Cosimo in splendour and richness of colour."

It is probable that the addition of these gold lights and hatchings, was the very last part of the process of the painting both of illuminated manuscripts and pictures; and the metal used was evidently reduced to the finest state of pulverisation. Some of the usual methods of preparing gold for painting have been already noticed, but there is also extant another which is equally remarkable, simple, and little known; and certainly worthy of consideration and careful experiment. It is contained in a French collection of *Essays on the Wonders of Painting*, drawn up in 1635 by Pierre Lebrun, Painter; and published by Mrs. Merri-field from a manuscript at Brussels. He directs that "a proper quantity of beaten gold or silver should be spread inside a smooth glass cup, and moistened with clear water. The leaves are then to be rubbed with the finger, wetting them occasionally, but not spreading them too much while rubbing: and this process is to be continued until all the leaves of gold are well ground, continually adding water; when they are ground enough, the cup must be filled with fresh water and well stirred; it must then be left to stand for half an hour, after which the water is to be poured off, the gold remaining at the bottom of the cup: this is left to dry, and when it is to be used it must be tempered with gum-water: this is the finest method which can be for making ground-gold."⁴⁸ Whether the beautiful metallic-paint now imported from France under the general name of Shell-gold, be made by this or any other method, it is incomparably the best preparation which can be employed for the tracing of delicate and lustrous lines; though

⁴⁸ Ancient Practice of Painting, ii. p. 833. A process nearly similar to the above is contained in the "Guide de la Peinture, p. 45," published by M. Didron from a Byzantine Manuscript; this recipe however directs the addition of dissolved gum of the consistency of honey, with which the gold-leaf is to be rubbed with the finger.

it is not equally well adapted for covering large masses, and not at all for burnishing. The Chinese golds, the best sorts of German gold, and the English gold, though levigated to the finest impalpable powder, are usually dull in comparison with the French preparation; but the English gold-powders, when substantially laid upon vellum or paper, with only as much clear gum-water as will make them adhere to the surface, will receive the most lustrous polishing from an ox-tooth or agate, a piece of glass being placed under the drawing.

The French Gold-Inks of the Eighteenth century, might be made either by the preceding method, or by the ordinary process of grinding the gold with honey, washing the paste with several waters, and mixing the purified powder with gum-water. In the form of an ink the metal differs from the same substance prepared as a paint, by being kept in a bottle, under a solution of three parts water, and one part of clear thick gum-water. The gold-powder becomes precipitated in the bottle, and before writing with it requires to be carefully shaken up; when it is used in suspension and thickly laid on with either a pen or a pencil. The Silver-ink of the Fourth century was also employed in this thick state, being stirred-up and written with a reed-pen. From the broad solid appearance of the letters so traced, and the deep discoloured impression caused by the oxidising of the metal, arose the supposition that the characters of the celebrated *Codex Argenteus* at Upsala, were impressed on the vellum by means of heated stamps. In the beautiful volume of the Epistles written and painted for the Chapel at Versailles, the gold-inks with which it is so profusely decorated, are recorded to have been made by the Frère Hypolite R. S. Martin.⁴⁹

But beside the resplendency of the gilding in Illuminated Manuscripts, there was another very important reason for the fascinating beauty of their ornamental borders, initials, and miniatures, at the best periods, chiefly arising out of the rich and powerful hues and contrasts of the colouring. The finest decorated volumes of the earlier centuries, frequently present a heavy and

⁴⁹ Silvestre, *Paléographie Universelle*, Plate ccv. Madden, ii. p. 572.

gloomy grandeur, which appears to be less attributable to the imperfection of the materials than to the want of understanding the power of well-contrasted colours as exhibited in the vivid brilliancy of many of the later illuminations. Something like an attempt to develop these principles, is to be found in the Treatise by Theophilus, in a series of intricate directions for executing a painting, "in which is imitated the likeness of the rainbow." His chief object, however, is to explain the method of making objects appear round, by painting on them a number of parallel lines of different colours, which he illustrates by several examples. In the Addenda to his Treatise there is a short section, "*De Mixtura Colorum*," evidently meaning their proper blending, harmony, and contrast; and specifying such as are fitted to be used in shading various pure tints. These directions appear to have been set down without any order, and they are expressed in such very barbarous and unusual terms, as to be almost unintelligible both in the original and when literally translated. Unless it may be supposed that the mediæval meaning of the Latin words is lost, the most liberal conjecture is required to endue them with a meaning.⁵⁰ It is therefore only by a careful examination of the illuminated paintings of the period, with the assistance of the remarkable style of colouring to be found in the pictures of the early German school, and on the Majolica and Palissy pottery,—that we are at all enabled to understand the instructions of Theophilus. "Azurium incides de nigro," says he at the commencement of this passage, "maptizabis auripigmento;" which Mr. Hendrie translates, "You break blue with black; you will design with orpiment." The real meaning, however, appears to be, that azure is properly to be lowered or shaded by a mixture of black; and that orpiment should be used for the lights on the folds of drapery, or any diaper or embroidered patterns on the dresses. When these obscure directions are thus interpreted, they will be found of some value in illuminating, as exhibiting the general ancient principles of colouring. These appear to be, that a simple tint is to be shaded with the same tint, mixed with black; and that

⁵⁰ *De Diversis Artibus*, i. c. xv. p. 17-19, 419.

a colour in composition with white, is to be relieved with the same colour in a pure state.

The peculiar beauty and richness of the finest painted manuscripts, cannot be perfectly understood or imitated from any written remarks, however explicit: the knowledge must be acquired chiefly from a careful observation of the best specimens; both as to the system on which illuminated borders were drawn, and the principles on which they were coloured, neither of which were capricious or accidental. But, with respect to the drawing, we must take this opportunity of impressing on the attention of all who desire to produce modern illuminations having any pretensions to either beauty or success, the very great importance of delineating their outlines with all the clearness and accuracy of which they may be capable. Whether the subject copied or imitated be miniatures or figures; branches, flowers, or foliage; ornamental marginal-lines, initial-letters, or even the light pen-tracery of gold leaves and tendrils;—careful and accurate drawing is always of the greatest importance for securing the beauty of the work. Careless drawing, on the other hand, executed under a false notion of avoiding stiffness, will produce only an unfeeling and a common-place delineation of something designed to resemble ancient illumination, but in reality wanting one of its most excellent characteristics. The very remarkable contrast between such imperfect copying and the most beautiful drawings of the same series of illuminations, may be seen in Strutt's etchings of the miniatures contained in the manuscript history of the Deposition of Richard II., and the outlines taken from them by Corbould, and engraved for the Society of Antiquaries.⁵¹

The value of accurate drawing in respect of borders, is also copiously exhibited in the specimens published by M. Silvestre and Mr. H. Noel Humphreys; and especially in the outline-illustrations contained in an elegant little volume issued by the latter in 1849, entitled "*The Art of Illumination and Missal-Painting: a*

⁵¹ The Royal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England, by Joseph Strutt. 1793. 4to. Plates xx-xxx. *Archæologia*, vol. xx. Plates i-xvi. The manuscript referred to is No. 1319 of the Harleian Collection in The British Museum.

guide to Modern Illuminators." This is one of the only two elementary works which have appeared on the subject, and it is in every respect by far the superior production. The other is a small tract by Mr. D. De Lara, which appeared in 1850, called "*Elementary Instruction in the Art of Illumination and Missal-Painting on Vellum, with illustrations for copying for the student.*" The directions and examples which it contains are very slight and general; the intention of the book evidently being to lead the reader to a teacher. The principal design of Mr. Noel Humphrey's work, is to shew the principles on which the beautiful specimens of illuminations given in it were originally composed; and how they may be tastefully varied and adapted to modern decorations executed in an ancient style. It cannot, however, with any consistency be regarded as a work of instruction, since it does not contain a single word on either the materials proper to be employed in illuminating, or on any of the ancient methods of executing it. With respect to the practice of painting in opaque water-colours in the early part of the Eighteenth century, a small tract was published in 1731; and a copious article on the old system of Miniature-painting will be found under that title in the "*Encyclopædia Britannica.*" In both of these works is contained a full account of the colours employed and of the principal tints to be produced by mixing them; and the directions for painting may be regarded as exhibiting the system followed by the artists of the Versailles Service-books, the last of the illuminators. We have already noticed that the best works on the ancient colours adapted for this kind of painting, are those published by Mrs. Merrifield and Mr. Hendrie; and Mr. George Field is the most valuable authority on the subject of the finest pigments made at the present time.

In the selection of specimens to be imitated in Modern Illuminations, the ornaments of the oldest manuscripts cannot be generally recommended as the best examples; but the peculiar floreated border of the Tenth century, *when carefully drawn and properly coloured*, may be most advantageously adopted; especially when it can be copied of nearly the dimensions of the original. Such

borders, in the Devonshire Benedictional, measure about 9 inches by 7, and if reduced at all they should not be made less than two-thirds or half the size, and should be drawn in precisely the same proportions. They consist of frames to the text, composed of broad gold parallel lines filled up with elaborate foliage, enriched at the centres and angles with squares and circles, enclosing star-like ornaments and floreated crosses. The original colouring is almost extravagantly variegated, and the artist who copies such illuminations will find the effect improved by entirely omitting the deep purple backgrounds, and confining the other tints to azure, carnation, and green, which should be kept as bright and clear as they can be made. Any writing which may be required in illuminations of this style, should be of plain Roman capital letters of different sizes, the titles being executed in gold.

The rich and agreeable contrast which is always produced by the close contact of azure and carnation, or blue and scarlet, seems to have been understood at a very early period; though it was very frequently spoiled by the introduction of too great a variety of other colours. By the Fourteenth century, however, this harmonious contrast was effectively employed for the lines of gold and colours, heightened with white, which were usually painted on the outer margins of manuscripts, decorated with those graceful ornaments called *Rinceaux* and *Fleurs*; or branches and flower-buds. When this style is adopted for modern illumination, the text should be written in a clear upright black-letter, with initials of the Modern-gothic character. These letters may be either plainly drawn of a larger size than the text, in scarlet or azure without frames; or they may be formed of raised gold on a ground of azure or carnation diapered with white. Examples of all such characters as are proper to be introduced into the illuminations of every period, will be found in two works published in 1853—" *The Handbook of Mediæval Alphabets and Devices*," by Mr. W. H. Shaw, and in " *The Origin and Progress of the Art of Writing*," by Mr. H. Noel Humphreys.

In the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries the borders of most manuscripts appear to have been composed on a systematic and

uniform principle; which continued to prevail, though probably without being understood, so long as any kind of illumination had an existence. This principle was to distribute the border, whether small or large, into nearly equal parts, which were filled alternately with light pen-tracery of branches with golden ivy-leaves, figures, and brightly-coloured foliage or groups of flowers; the most important ornaments being usually placed in the centres of the borders. Sometimes these borders were very richly historiated with miniatures proper to the subject of the manuscript, enclosed in foliage, being interspersed with the pen-drawing; but there appears always to have been an agreeable balance preserved between the lighter parts of the border and the more solid ornaments.

There is a very curious illustration of an expeditious system on which the illuminated borders of this period were usually constructed, to be observed in many fine manuscripts of the Fifteenth century. The leaves of the best of those volumes are generally of such delicate foreign vellum, that the borders painted on the upper side are distinctly visible on the other; and hence it will be found that the same decorations have been carefully traced through, only reversed in order, and altogether varied as to the flowers and colours. On the opposite page the direction of the branches, the examples of flowers, and the groups of brightly coloured foliage are again varied; and are again traced on the reverse of the leaf with a different combination of tints. It is probable that such manuscripts as contain these ingeniously-simple variations, were executed in those commercial establishments at Paris and Bruges, out of which such numbers of fine illuminated books were formerly produced.

Down to the middle of the Fifteenth century, the practice was to paint borders upon a plain white ground; but after that period the margins of manuscripts were frequently divided into compartments, diamond-shaped, diagonal, circular, or were otherwise formed into regular sections with fanciful outlines. In these partitions were alternately distributed the lighter ornaments on the plain vellum, and the more substantial branches and foliage on a

solid background of gold, or of some bright colour. This arrangement often produces a very rich and effective contrast from the intervention of the white divisions; and when the alternate spaces are not gilded, the colours usually employed are azure, scarlet, grey, carnation, and a fine deep red brown made of Venetian-red and white. These party-coloured borders, with most of the lighter and more graceful class of ornaments, were afterwards lost in the deep and vivid backgrounds of the succeeding style of decorating books, in which a great variety of objects were introduced and frequently painted with great effect and beauty; but Illumination in its purest form had passed away.

We have now completed our attempt to describe the production and painting of an Illuminated Manuscript, in all the different stages of the work. But before the volume could be presented to the patron for whom it was designed, the Binding of it still remained to be executed; and it can scarcely be doubted that this was done in the Scriptorium. At a very early period the most valuable sacred manuscripts were not unfrequently secured between two stout wooden boards covered with engraved plates of silver or gold, and set with crystals or common rubies: but our present enquiry is not connected with books of such antiquity and gorgeous coverings. The usual binding of the volumes produced in a monastery for service-books, was the plain skins of deer, sheep, or calves, stretched over boards; and the same material cut into strips, supplied the ligatures by which the leaves were sewed together. It will probably be generally remembered, that hunting was anciently prohibited to ecclesiastics; but Charlemagne permitted priests to hunt for the procuring of deer-skins for the covering of books; and other French sovereigns made grants to literary monasteries of a certain number of such skins to be supplied annually for binding. The enormous registers to be seen at the Prerogative-Office at the present time, exhibit some very remarkable modern examples of the later mediæval choir-books of great religious-establishments, and especially those of Spain and Italy. They are secured by broad clasps; the angles of the covers are protected with brass plates and bosses; on each

side there is a metal centre, with a large projecting hemisphere; and across the back there are fastened two broad strong loops of leather, by which the ponderous volume may be more easily moved when closed. In their original design, none of these peculiarities were without their corresponding utility. In the first place the books were made thus large, in order that the text and music might also be written in the very largest character, to be more easily read by the elder brethren, and to admit of a greater number chaunting from the same manuscript at one time. For this purpose, also, in many foreign monasteries the choir-books were placed on a high sloping shelf, before which stood the choristers, whilst the Precentor with a staff turned over the leaves above their heads. The metal bosses and the semi-globular crystals on the covers, were intended to lift the heavy side of a large volume from lying down so uniformly as to rub and wear out the leather binding.

We ought not to leave the subject of binding Illuminated Manuscripts, without some notice of the great variety of sizes in which those volumes exist. When St. Jerome in the Fourth century speaks of such works as "were burthens rather than books," he refers to the thickness, and not to the dimensions. The oldest form of books like those with which we are now acquainted, was square; the invention of which has been assigned to Attalus, King of Pergamus in the Second century B.C. To this form succeeded a small folio size, and when Hours, and Offices, and manuscripts of private-prayers began to be written for individuals, the dimensions of books became materially lessened; and in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries, the well-known small quarto was the most prevailing size. In the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries both very large and very small manuscripts made their appearance. The former were designed for the service-books of religious-houses or the greatest personages; and the latter, which were made of the finest vellum, and often very richly illuminated, were intended for private devotions. Many small volumes of Offices and Hours are still extant, of very great beauty and merit, both in the writing and painting. Dr. Dibdin has engraved four very tasteful specimens of the painted decorations of a calendar prefixed to a book of

Offices, consisting of miniatures enclosed within scroll and cordon borders, measuring three inches and an eighth by two inches and an eighth, probably of French Art, executed about the year 1520. He also mentions an Italian manuscript of the sonnets of Petrarch, measuring one inch by five-eighths of an inch, containing about fifty lines on a page, and illustrated with drawings *en grisaille*.⁵²

The clasps, the corner-plates, and the bosses on the binding of mediæval volumes, lead us to notice the remarkable uniformity with which books are represented in illuminations; the colour of the cover is usually red, blue, or green, and apparently velvet; but those ornaments are generally to be seen delineated upon it in gold. When the writer, the illuminator, and the binder, of a fine manuscript had finished their labours, the crowning-act of the whole work was for the author, with great ceremony, to present his book to his patron. He was always a person of the highest rank or reputation; and in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries the miniatures representing this donation are equally numerous, interesting, and beautiful. If it can be said with any propriety that an Illuminated Manuscript *can* have either a title-page or frontispiece, it must be found in the pictures of the presentation so very frequently occurring at the commencement of the volume, or of the author in the act of writing or inditing his book. In nearly all the drawings of Presentations, they are shewn as being conducted with the most stately ceremony; for the royal or noble personage receiving the book, is generally seated under a lofty embroidered canopy, in a chamber lined with rich diapered hangings, or with intricate mosaics formed of tesserae of bright colours and gold. He is also surrounded by his officers of state; and the author is usually represented as offering his volume kneeling. We may illustrate this ancient practice of presenting a fine illuminated manuscript as a very valuable gift, by a few notices relating to one which was given to Henry VI. at St. Edmundsbury Abbey; the book and the history of it having been both preserved.

On the Feast of All Saints, November 1st, in the year 1433, when the King was about fourteen years old, he went to visit William

⁵² The Bibliographical Decameron, i. p. clxxxvi. cxxxii.

Curteys, the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, with whom he remained until after Easter-Sunday, April 23rd. "Dan John Lydgate," the historical poet, was then a monk of that house, and to him the Abbot committed the duty of preparing an English version of the Legend of the Life and Miracles of their Patron-Saint, Edmund the Martyr, King of the East-Angles; intending to present it to Henry before his departure. Lydgate executed this work in that species of verse in which he usually wrote, "the ballad-royal" measure; and in his prologue he gives an account of the origin of the book, "when he first 'gan on this translation:"—

"Whan that Sixte Herry in his estat roiál,
 With his sceptre of Yngland and of Fraunce,
 Held at Bury the Feste pryncipál
 Of Christémesse, with full gret habundáncé:
 And after that listed to have plesáncé,
 As his counsail 'gan for him to provide,
 There in this place till Easterne for to abide.

* * * *

In this matére there is no more to seyn;
 Sauf to the Kyng for to do a plesáncé
 Th' Abbot William, his humble Chapeleyn,
 Gaf me in charge to do myn attendáncé,
 The noble story to translate in substáncé
 Out of Latyn, after my kunnyng,
 Ther in full purpose to give it to the Kyng."

It is quite possible, as Warton conjectures, that this very fine manuscript had been commenced previously to the royal visit; but it appears to have been at least completed and presented to the King during his residence at Bury, though probably but a short time before his departure. In addition to the graceful illuminated flower-borders and rich initial-letters, there are an hundred and twenty well-painted and interesting historical miniatures. One of these represents the presentation of the volume, which took place in full court, when Henry was made a brother of the Abbey, for the place is evidently within the enclosure of the chapter-house. The King is seated under a high canopy, having before him the reading-desk and two very large tapers in gold candlesticks; and around him stand his nobles, one of whom holds the sword of state,—with a number of the monastical brethren. On his right hand is the

Abbot kneeling and presenting the book, covered with red, and having gold clasps; and by him appears Lydgate himself, holding another volume. This illumination has been indifferently copied by Joseph Strutt, in his "*Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*;"⁵³ and two other remarkable paintings of banners from the same manuscript, with a fac-simile of the text describing them, will be found in C. J. Smith's "*Historical and Literary Curiosities*." Mr. H. Noel Humphreys has also published a beautiful copy of the commencement of the volume. In his notice of the manuscript he says that "the costumes in the miniatures are drawn with the greatest care, the dresses having very generally a rich damask pattern of a dark neutral colour upon a white ground, producing a sober but rich effect; of a character very unusual in illuminated miniatures of the period. It is considered to be decidedly a work of English Art; as certain touches of white body-colour, especially remarkable in these paintings, particularly about the eyes, are found only in illuminations known to be English."⁵⁴

We have thus completed the descriptive and practical History of Illuminating, and, in pursuance of the Plan of these Lectures already placed before you, we are now to give some Notices of the Artists and Schools by which this interesting Art was cultivated and brought to perfection. In a communication from the Comte Auguste De Bastard to the Comte Horace De Viel Castel, he proposes a classification of the Schools of Illuminating existing in the great religious-houses of France, even so early as the Ninth century: all of which, he considers to have emanated from the Palatine-school founded by Alcuin at Aix-la-Chapelle, as from a great common centre. M. De Bastard's other establishments are—1. The central School of St. Martin at Tours, also founded by Alcuin, which originated or preserved the Gallo-Franco style of Art. 2. The Franco-German School, founded by Drogo, the

⁵³ History of English Poetry, ii. p. 54-56. *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, 1793. 4to. p. 81, 82, Plate xli. The Manuscript described in the text is preserved in the Harleian Library in The British Museum, No. 2278.

⁵⁴ *Illuminated Books of the Middle-Ages*, Plate xvii.

natural-son of Charlemagne, out of which came the Franco-German style. 3. The School of Rheims, founded by Archbishop Ebbon, in which are to be found the Byzantine, the Saxon, and the Italian styles. 4. The German School, which became developed at the great Abbey of St. Gall in the Ninth century. M. De Viel Castel does not coincide with this elaborate classification; but considers that all the early Schools of Illuminating may be reduced to Two,—the *Greek* and the *Ancient Roman*.⁵⁵ and according to this very natural arrangement, the different styles of manuscript decorations may be thus distributed :—

The GREEK or BYZANTINE SCHOOL—existing from the Eighth to the end of the Tenth century.

The *Anglo-Saxon*, the *Irish-Saxon*, and the *Franco-Saxon* style of ornament were derived from this school.

The Illuminated Paintings of *Russia* belong to this school.

The EARLY ROMAN SCHOOL—from the Tenth to the Fourteenth century.

The *Early Anglo-Norman* style was derived from this school.

The ITALIAN SCHOOL—from the beginning of the Fourteenth to the end of the Sixteenth century.

The Spanish and Portuguese Illuminations belong to this school.

The EARLY FRENCH SCHOOL—from the close of the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth century.

The *Later English style* belongs to this school.

The FLEMISH, GERMAN, and DUTCH Schools—from the close of the Fifteenth century.

The LATER FRENCH SCHOOL—the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries.

There is not any part of the History of Illuminating, the materials for which are so slight and unsatisfactory, as that relating to the Artists who executed most of the finest specimens of the Art which are now extant. Many of the names of those early painters have been preserved, but it is very seldom that they can be identified with any of their works which may be yet remaining. In the Registers of the Corporation of St. Luke at Florence, about the year 1300, Baldinucci and Vasari found entries of the names and of the time of decease of nearly an

⁵⁵ Notice sur la Peinture des Miniatures, p. 15-17.—Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit au Droit Désir, ou du Nœud. 1853.

hundred of those artists ; and it cannot be doubted that at least some of them were Illuminators ; but, as there did not exist any farther information concerning them, those historians of painting left them out of their catalogues. Another difficulty connected with the names and works of Illuminators, is that of distinguishing between the *Writers* and the *Painters of Manuscripts*, in the inscriptions which frequently occur in ancient volumes ; for the unwarrantable practice of assuming that they were even usually the same persons, is no longer received as a principle by the best-informed Paleographers. If such an assumption could ever be admitted as possible, it must have reference to that very ancient period when the Greek *Chrysographi* wrote the Sacred-books in gold and silver letters ; which led first to gilded ornaments in manuscripts, and then to paintings. It is to be observed, that in none of the numerous specimens which Montfaucon has given of the inscriptions inserted by the Greek Calligraphers in the volumes which they wrote, is there an instance of the name of any decorator being recorded.

Some of the earliest notices of Illuminators now extant, relate to those of Ireland ; and they are incidentally introduced by Dr. Charles O'Connor in a very florid passage following his account of the famous Evangelisterium of Kildare. "What wonder is it," says he, "if such extremely beautiful volumes were found in that age, and even with the most ancient Irish, that Bede should state it to be usual that books, and teachers, and young scholars gratuitously maintained, should be sent over in numbers out of England into Ireland ? What wonder is it, that the same Bede witnesses, that the ancient monastics had the art, now unknown, of decorating books with minium, and colours, and inks taken from the Purple-fish and the Murex, the use of which is lost to posterity : which colours, though they are so much more ancient than our own time, are yet seen to be so vivid and beautiful ? Farther, what wonder is it, that in the life of the ancient DAGÆUS, monk and abbot of Iniskeltra, who flourished in the beginning of the Sixth century, and died A.D. 587,—we read that he was an artificer, and a most expert writer of books ; who not only wrote

many with his own hand, but also covered them with gold and silver plates, and adorned the binding with gems? What wonder is it, that Adamnanus retained for the Saxons at Iona a certain monk—named *GENERREUS*,—who had taught the art of picture-drawing in the Irish schools?" Dr. O'Connor farther shews, that in a metrical epistle sent from Æthelwolf, a brother of Lindisfarne, to Egbert, Bishop of York, in the end of the Eighth century, another Irish monk named *ULTAN*, had a very great reputation, as one of those who possessed the skill to ornament books.⁵⁶

To continue this very imperfect account of the earliest decorators of manuscripts with some attempt at chronological order,—we have to notice that the next names on record are those of *EADFRITH* and *ÆTHELWOLD*, who produced the very remarkable copy of the Gospels called "The Durham Book," in the early part of the Eighth century, which is still extant in the Cottonian Library.

In the Tenth century, Strutt has included the famous name of *DUNSTAN*, Archbishop of Canterbury, as being that of an artist in manuscripts, on the authority of an outline pen-drawing in a brown colour, of a figure of Christ appearing to the prelate who is prostrate at his feet; the former effigy being of very large proportions, and the latter exceedingly small. Strutt ridicules this rude specimen of art, of which he has etched a fac-simile, but without reason; since both the figures and the drapery are well drawn in the peculiar style of the period, and the discrepancy in size is not to be regarded as indicating any want of pictorial skill in the artist, but only as expressing the existing notion of the supernatural appearance of a divine personage. The manuscript containing this drawing is preserved in The Bodleian Library; but the only authority for attributing it to Dunstan, is a short Latin inscription written at the top of the leaf, apparently in the character of the Thirteenth century, stating that "the picture and the writing on this page now under view are by St. Dunstan's own hand."⁵⁷ There are two other Illuminators known as having also

⁵⁶ *Rerum Hiberniarum Scriptores Veteres*. 4to. Tom. i. 1814. Epist. Nuncupat. p. clxxviii.

⁵⁷ Strutt's *orda Angel-cynnan*: or a Compleat View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, etc. of the People of England. 1775. 4to. i. Plate xviii. p. 71, 105.

flourished in the Tenth century, both of whom have been already noticed:—GODEMAN, Chaplain to St. Æthelwold, Bishop of Durham, in A.D. 970, whose name is inseparably connected with the splendid Benedictional in the Duke of Devonshire's library; and ERVENIUS, supposed to have been a monk of St. Edmondsbury Abbey, who, in A.D. 980 was a writer and an illuminator of manuscripts.

In the Eleventh century, under the year 1076, the historians Brompton and Knyghton have stated that OSMUND, Bishop of Salisbury, did not disregard the writing, binding, and illuminating of books.⁵⁸ In the middle of the next century appears EADWINUS, a monk, as he seems to indicate himself, of Christ-Church, Canterbury. The existing proofs of his skill are preserved, with apparently his own attestation as the artist, in an elaborate Psalter of his compiling and transcribing in Trinity College, Cambridge; which manuscript has been carefully described by Humphrey Wanley, and also in the "*Vetusta Monumenta*" published by the Society of Antiquaries, with fac-similes.⁵⁹ In the end of this volume are two drawings, one of which consists of an extraordinary, though a very rude, scenographical plan of Christ-Church and Monastery at Canterbury, as they appeared between the years 1130 and 1174; and a large whole-length portrait of Eadwinus, both of which are usually attributed to himself. He is represented in an elaborate, though but an indifferent drawing, seated at a desk, writing, under a trefoil-arch, with turrets above it at the angles of the picture; the head and hands of the figure being finished in colours; and there are also in the same volume many historical figures, with initial letters in gold, silver, and vermillion. Wanley remarks on the portrait of Eadwinus that "it represents him writing, with a metal pen in his right hand,—for this book could not have been written with a feather-pen,—and holding an eraser or pen-knife in his left." In the descriptive account of these drawings printed by The

⁵⁸ Chronic. J. Brompton, apud R. Twysdeni Hist. Anglic. Scriptores X. 1652. col. 976. H. De Knyghton, De Eventibus Angliæ, lib. ii. Ibid. col. 2351.

⁵⁹ Hickesii Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis, liber alter, seu H. Wanleii, Oxon. 1705. p. 168, 169. *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. ii. 1789, Plates xv. xvi.

Society of Antiquaries, it is rightly remarked that "the shape of the pen appears entirely the same with those now in use ; and why a vellum book could not be written with a pen made of a quill seems not very easy to apprehend. Besides, the knife in the left hand of the figure appears very well suited either to mend the pen when blunted by use, or to erase anything written which required emendation." There is, however, a better reason to be given for the knife being almost universally placed in illuminations in the left hands of Anglo-Saxon authors and scribes. They used to draw the blade backward over the surface to be written on, pressing down the edge, generally to level inequalities ; and it is possible that the practice is not even yet obsolete with law-writers. The pen represented in the drawing of Eadwinus, is unquestionably a quill, of the early form in which it is frequently represented ; cut very short, bent into a curve, and entirely stripped of the feather : but when metal-pens are intended they are delineated straight. On a narrow border enclosing the picture there are some rhyming lines in Latin, stating that the writer of the book was the chief of scribes, that the picture vividly represented him, and that it was fitting that his book should be adorned with his effigy. This inscription, however, does not prove Eadwinus to have been an illuminator.

The first artist of this class in the Thirteenth century, appears to have been that ODERICO, Canon of Sienna, mentioned by the Abate Luigi Lanzi, in his short account of a manuscript decorated with initials, historiations, and ornaments of animals, painted by him in A.D. 1213, in vermilion, and in a very hard and dry manner. The volume containing them is preserved in the Library of the Academy at Florence, and consists of the Order of the Offices of the Church at Sienna. "Similar books," adds the author, "were ornamented by the same painter, in the parchment of the leaves, and were also painted on the covers without."⁶⁰ It was an ordinary practice, from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth century, for decorative-artists to be employed to paint ornamental subjects on a great variety of articles of wood and leather, when made up

⁶⁰ The History of Painting in Italy : book ii., Sienese School, Epoch 1.

into shields and saddles; covers of books, seats, and litters; virginal-cases and viols, etc.: some directions for which are given by Theophilus.⁶¹

On the authority of Casley's account of a manuscript of the "*Historia Major*" of MATTHEW PARIS, preserved in The Royal Library in The British Museum, containing several drawings,—Strutt has included the author as an Illuminator of the Thirteenth century. In Casley's Catalogue the volume is stated to have been written by his own hand; and it contains a Map of England, pictures of celebrated English cities with the monasteries founded in them, a number of escutcheons, and a figure of Matthew Paris himself, prostrated before the Blessed Virgin, with a precatory address written above him. Strutt has etched a fac-simile of this figure; and he adds, that in the margins of the book there are many delineations of passages in the history drawn by himself. In the same volume there is another figure of Matthew Paris, reclining on a bed, having his right hand resting on his own work. Strutt considers that this represents him dying in A.D. 1259, and that it was drawn by the monk who continued his history; but both of the figures appear to have been executed by the same artist.⁶² The continuation referred to, which is contained in the same volume as the former part—is now known to have been the real work of Matthew Paris, down to the year 1273, when he is supposed to have died; the previous part of the history, to A.D. 1235, being identified as the composition of Roger of Wendover.⁶³ Another manuscript containing a number of grotesque though characteristic outlines, also attributed to this author, is his *Lives of the Kings Offa I. and II.*, all which have been published by Strutt.⁶⁴ Both of these volumes came originally from St. Alban's monastery, of

⁶¹ De Diversis Artibus, lib. i. c. xxiii, p. 26-28, 102. See also M. Jules Labarte's Handbook of the Arts of the Middle-ages, 1855. 8vo. p. 57, fig. 23.

⁶² Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library, by David Casley. 1734. 4to. p. 231: the manuscript referred to is marked 14 c.vii. Strutt, Manners and Customs, i. plate xxxv. p. 106, 110.

⁶³ Matthew Paris's English History from 1235 to 1273, translated by the Rev. J. A. Giles, D.C.L. Vol. I. 1852. Pref. p. v. vi. Bohn's Antiq. Libr. xvii.

⁶⁴ Strutt, Manners and Customs, i. plates xxxvi.-lxvii. p. 110-112: the original Manuscript is in the Cottonian Library, marked Nero, D. 1.

which Matthew Prior was a brother; and, as he is reported to have understood painting, architecture, and the mathematics, these drawings appear to have been considered as his, though without any positive authority.

The close of the Thirteenth century brings us to the time of Dante and of his immortal vision, wherein we have probably the earliest example extant of the word "*Illuminare*," which the poet indicates was derived from the Parisians. He gives us also the names of two Illuminators, who had been equally honoured and excellent whilst living, though at that time one of them existed only in the state of Purgatory. The passage as rendered by Mr. Cary is this:—

"Listening I bent my visage down, and one,—
Not he who spake,—twisted beneath the weight
That urged him, saw me, knew me straight, and call'd:
Holding his eyes with difficulty fix'd
Intent upon me, stooping as he went
Companion of their way. 'Oh!' I exclaim'd,
'Art thou not Oderigi? Art thou not
Agobbio's glory, glory of that Art
Which they of Paris call the Limner's skill?'
'Brother,' said he, 'with tints that gayer smile,
Bolognian Franco's pencil lines the leaves:
His all the honour now, my light obscured.
In truth, I had not been thus courteous to him
The whilst I lived, through eagerness of zeal
For that pre-eminence my heart was bent on.
Here of such pride the forfeiture is paid.
Nor were I even *here*, if able still
To sin, I had not turn'd me unto God.'"⁶⁵

But beautiful as this translation indisputably is, it is not, for our purpose, sufficiently close in the rendering of the 81st verse—

"Ch' "*Alluminare e chiamata in Parisi*"—
Which to' Illuminate is in Paris call'd.

Baldinucci states that one of the many improvements in Art introduced by GIOTTO, arose out of the industrious diligence with which he cultivated "that fine mode of painting called '*diminio*'; which for the most part consists in colouring very diminutive figures: and that after him many others also applied them—

⁶⁵ Dante, *Del Purgatorio*, c. xi. v. 74—90. Cary c. xi. v. 73—90.

selves to the like art and soon became illustrious." One of these artists was ODERIGI D' AGUBBIO, the first of the illuminators mentioned by Dante. He was born at the town whence he took his name, near Perugia, and died shortly before the year 1300, when the "*Divina Commedia*" was composed; and at Rome he became the intimate friend of Giotto and Dante. It is possible that though Giotto was an excellent miniaturist, he greatly preferred painting large pictures and frescoes, and that he therefore introduced Oderigi to his patron Benedict VIII., for whose library he illuminated many volumes; which Vasari says have in great part perished in the lapse of time. Oderigi is said to have resided for some time at Bologna, where he instructed in the art of miniature-painting FRANCO OF BOLOGNA, the other Illuminator mentioned by Dante. He was possibly at first employed by his instructor at Rome as his assistant; but Vasari states that he also executed many admirable works for the Papal library, in the same manner for the same Pontiff as Oderigi; and hence probably arose the envious feeling referred to by Dante. Franco greatly surpassed his tutor as a miniaturist: he painted as late as A.D. 1313, and he is regarded as almost the founder of Art in Bologna.

We have already given an account of DON SILVESTRO, who illuminated the large service-books in the Camaldoline Monastery "*degli Angeli*" at Florence, about the year 1340;⁶⁶ or, as Vasari expresses the time, "the monks date the production of these works from the year of our Salvation 1350, a little more or a little less." These volumes were subsequently appropriated to the Mediceo-Laurenzia Library, but almost all of them were first despoiled of the miniatures. The sale of the Illuminations belonging to Mr. W. Y. Ottley in 1838, included, however, eight of these paintings. The Florentine edition of Vasari's *Lives of the Painters*, etc. commenced in 1846, mentions the fact of their mutilation, and also the discovery of another Camaldoline Illuminator called DON SIMON, who executed the miniatures for the choral-books of the church of Santa Croce.

At the end of a manuscript copy of the *Life of Alexander the*

⁶⁶ Pages 45, 46.

Great, written in French and according to mediæval story, and very richly illuminated, preserved in the Bodleian Library, the colophon states that the Writing of it was finished on the xvij day of December, mccccxxviii; and that the Illuminations were perfected on the xvij day of April by JOHAN DE GUSE, in the Year of Grace, mcccxliv. This inscription must be regarded as especially interesting, from the intimation which it affords of the time required for the painting of a fine manuscript after the writing was finished.⁶⁷

In a very finely illuminated copy of the Vulgate Gospels, written entirely in gold, and preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, there is an inscription stating that "I, JOHAN DE OPPAW—or Troppau—Priest, and Canon of Brunn, Curate of Lanteskrone, wrote this Book with a pen, in pure gold, and also Illuminated it; and, by the help of God, I have completed it in A.D. mcccLxviii."⁶⁸

Under the year 1370 Baldinucci has a long circumstantial account of a Hermit-Illuminator called Cybo, who was surnamed "THE MONK OF THE GOLDEN ISLANDS," from the place in which he passed much of his life in devotion and artistic labours. He was born in A.D. 1326, of a noble family of Genoa; and he assumed the religious-habit in the monastery of Lerino, where he acquired the art of painting. It is quite possible that he had seen, and had been stimulated to exertion and to excellence, by some of Giotto's miniatures; the novelty and beauty of which had already developed the talent of Oderigi, Franco of Bologna, and many an admirable artist beside, who wanted not excellence but a Vasari to record them. Don Cybo, therefore, cultivated miniature-painting and illuminating; and his rule appears to have permitted him to retire every spring and autumn, with another brother, who was a very superior scribe, to a cell in one of the Hieres Islands in the Mediterranean, off the coast of France, where his monastery had a

⁶⁷ "Romans du boin Roi Alixandre—qui fu perscript le xvij jour de Decembre, l'an mccccxxviii. Ce livre fu perfais de le Enluminure au xvij jour d' Avril per Johan de Guse l'an de grace mcccxliv. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, 1801, 4to. p. 299.

⁶⁸ Silvestre, *Paléogr. Univ.* Plate cclxiii. Madden, ii. p. 731.

small chapel. In his Memoir of Don Lorenzo, another artist-monk of the Angeli at Florence, Vasari seems to express his wonder that such excellent works of art were produced "by the ancient fathers of the place, whilst they were shut up in perpetual seclusion; not bearing the name of monks, but that of hermits, and never coming forth from their convents." In his insular retreat, however, Don Cybo had more liberty; for Baldinucci tells us that "*at certain times of the day the monk Cybo would walk abroad to contemplate, not only the beautiful prospects offered by the shores of those islands, the mountains, the villages, and the sea itself,—but also the birds, the flowers, the trees, the fruits, the rarer fishes of the sea, and the little animals of the earth;—all of which he would draw and imitate, in a wonderful manner, and afterwards make use of to copy into most beautiful books composed by himself; and of which we are about to speak.*"

"The monks of the monastery of St. Onerato at this time possessed a library, which had been formerly celebrated as the noblest and largest in all Europe, because it had been enriched by the Counts of Provence, Kings of Naples, and others, with the choicest books, in all sciences and arts, which could be wished for by men of letters. This library had been thrown into confusion and reduced to a very bad condition through the intestine wars of the princes of Beauce, Carlo Di Durazzo, Raimond De Touraine, and others, who laid claim to the County of Provence, in opposition to the lawful possessors of the same. The monks, therefore, gave to our painter the care of this library, and in a short time he placed the whole in pristine order; at least so far as lay in his power: for he found, by a memorandum of it made formerly by one Ermete, a noble of Provence, and monk also of the same monastery, by order of the second King of Arragon and Count of Provence, that a great many of the books had been taken away, and others of little worth put in their place.

"In the Lives of the Provençal Poets who flourished in the times of the Kings of Naples, written by Giovanni di Nostra Dama, he states that our monk found in his researches a book containing the names of all the noble and illustrious Families of Provence,

Arragon, Italy, and France, with their arms and alliances ; and another volume of the verses by the Provençal Poets : both collected by the before-named Ermete by command of the said king. All these, with the lives and works of other poets of the same nation down to his own time, which were dispersed in that great library,—were re-copied on vellum by our monk, and made into one volume adorned with excellent miniatures by his own hand, which he gave to Ludovico II., the father of Renato, King of Naples, from which were taken numerous copies. * * *

From various volumes also in the same noble library, and in other places, our monk after long study produced a fine work on the Acts and Victories of the Kings of Arragon, Counts of Provence ; which he copied with his own hand in very beautiful characters, and presented, with another book of the Offices of the Virgin, *enriched with the most splendid miniatures taken from his own fine collection of drawings*,—to Giolanda of Arragon, mother of the King Renato.” Fra Cybo is supposed to have died at his monastery in the year 1408.⁶⁹

There is one part of this narrative which is peculiarly interesting, since it describes the manner in which a true artist, though living so far back as the end of the Fourteenth century,—collected from nature the various and beautiful objects which he introduced into the borders of his illuminations. It explains at once the exhaustless source whence the best decorative-painters of the period derived the materials of those rich and graceful marginal ornaments, which we have already recommended to your attention.⁷⁰ If such then was the practice of a tasteful religious recluse, we may easily suppose that the superior professional illuminators living in the world, would make and preserve similar collections.

Lanzi has preserved the name of another monastic Italian Illuminator, who flourished after the year 1433. He was called FRA GIOVANNI DA FIESOLE, and was a Dominican friar of the Florentine school of Art. He had been instructed in painting by

⁶⁹ Baldinucci, *Notizie de' Professori del Disegno*: Decen. VIII. del Sec. II. p. 88-90.

⁷⁰ Pages 22, 23, 77, 78.

an older brother of the same religious house. His works exhibit some traces of the manner of Giotto in the positions of the figures, the long tube-like folds of the drapery, and the exquisite care with which some of the most minute parts are finished.

The art of miniature-painting was again indebted to the noble Camaldoline Monastery of the *Angeli* for the next artist whose name has been preserved. DON BARTOLOMMEO, Abate di San Clemente, was in his youth a miniaturist and illuminator, and Vasari especially notices the beautiful works executed by him for the monks of Sante Flora and Lucilla in the Abbey of Arezzo, and in a missal given to Sixtus IV.: but the choral-books of religious-houses appear to have been systematically despoiled of their miniatures, and there are not any specimens extant which can certainly be identified as the paintings of Bartolommeo. He died in A.D. 1491, having long previously become a painter of frescoes and large subjects.

In the middle of the Fifteenth century there flourished another Illuminator, whose name and works we can happily bring together, since the volume in which both are preserved is extant in The Cottonian Library.⁷¹ It is called "The Golden Register of St. Alban's," and consists of a record of the benefactors to the Abbey down to the year 1463. It is illuminated with the portraits and whole-length effigies of many royal and noble personages, richly coloured though stiffly drawn,—holding their respective donations, several of which have been indifferently copied by Strutt,⁷² who has, however, omitted the portrait of ALAN STRAYLER, the Illuminator himself. The text of the volume states that his claim to be introduced there, was that "he had given to the adorning of the present book very much labour; and had also remitted a debt of 3s. 4d. due to him for colours." Beneath his effigy are two rhyming lines in monastic Latin, stating that

"The Painter, Alan Strayler, here is given,
Who dwells for ever with the choir of heaven."

It should be noticed that in addition to the illuminator there are

⁷¹ It is marked Nero, D.VII.

⁷² Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England, 1773. 4to. Plates xxxiv-xxxvi. XLIV*. LV. LVII. LIX. LX.

some other benefactors to the Register recorded in it. "William Gardiner, and Hanwysa his wife, contributed to the work of this present book, 6s. 8d." "John Gumbard, and Agnes his wife, to the same, 3s. 4d." "Dominus Roger, Chaplain of the Chapel of the Earl of Warwick of Flamstead, to the same 2s."⁷³ The 15s. 4d. thus subscribed, must be estimated as being equal to about £10 at the present time.

The next two Illuminators may be considered as both the glory and the foundation of the Mediæval Art in France. The first of these artists is mentioned incidentally, though in a very interesting manner, by Froissart, as cited by the Comte De Viel Castel, in an extract which shews the variety of skill which he possessed. "The Duc De Berry," says the passage printed by M. De Viel Castel, "kept himself at Méhun-sur-Yvre, and there lost himself for more than three weeks, in devising with the master of his works of sculpture and painting, MASTER ANDRIEU DE BEAUNEVEU, the making of new figures and pictures: for in such things he had an abundance of taste; and was always designing works of sculpture and painting: and he was also well provided therein, for there were none above this Master Andrieu, of whom I speak; nor was there any land which had either any better or even his equal: nor were there so many of his works, either in Hainault, which was his own nation, nor in the realm of England, as were contained in France."⁷⁴

It will be readily perceived that this is the language of an energetic soldier, who regarded every day as lost which such a nobleman as the Duke De Berry devoted to the arts of peace. But even the Editors of M. Silvestre's *Paléographie Universelle*, endeavour to extenuate his tasteful propensities rather than to applaud them; and remark that his life has been generally "described by the French annalists as a tissue of reckless extravagance and injustice, with an inordinate passion for buildings, bijoux, reliques, and works of Art." He founded a Sainte Chapelle at Bourges, and endowed it with a great number of the

⁷³ Hist. and Antiquities of the County of Hertford, by Robt. Clutterbuck, F.S.A. Fol. Vol. i. 1815. Append. No. vi. p. 38.

⁷⁴ Chroniques de Froissart, revues par D. Sauvage, Lyon, 1560. iv. vol. p. 71. Statuts de l'Ordre du St. Esprit—De la Peinture des Manuscrits, p. 22 note.

richest ornaments, and an hundred valuable manuscripts. At his death in 1416, one of these books, called "*le Petit Psautier*," illuminated by the hand of Beauneveu, was valued at Eighty Livres, *Paris*, which cannot be regarded as less than £120 of modern currency.⁷⁵ Another of the volumes was that extremely beautiful work known by the name of "the Great Hours of the Duke De Berry," also decorated by Beauneveu, Jacquemart, Hodin, and other artists retained by this prince, in the same style as the Psalter. We have already noticed this very splendid Manuscript, some excellent fac-similes from which have been published by M. Silvestre, and Mr. H. Noel Humphreys.⁷⁶ The Illuminator, Beauneveu, appears from a note relating to the "*Petit Psautier*" to have died before his noble patron; and the Comte De Bastard notices a volume of Hours which he left unfinished, as being still more beautiful than the famous "Great Hours": he adds that "it has been procured for the French government at the price of 13,000 francs."⁷⁷

In immediate connection with this last Artist, modern research has placed the name of another, JEAN FOUQUET of Tours, who is considered to have possessed still more science in painting. He is, however, at the same time so generally unknown, that the Comte De Bastard observes of him "I cannot explain to myself how it is, that the name of this wonderful person, one of the glories of the Fifteenth century, and the leader of a celebrated school, should not make his appearance, neither in works expressly devoted to the history of painting, nor in any of those numerous collections, which so uselessly preserve the remembrance of obscure persons and mediocrity of talent." There is nothing wonderful in this neglect, if it be remembered that such works as

⁷⁵ "Un Psautier écrit en Latin et en François très richement enluminé, où il a plusieurs histoires au commencement, de la Main de feu Maistre André Beauneveu Paléogr. Univ. Plate cxcv. Madden, ii. p. 544, note. Imitation de Jésus Christ, fidèlement traduite du Latin par Michel De Marillac, Garde des Sceaux de France. Accompagnée de Quatre Cent Copies des plus beaux Manuscrits Français et étrangers, du XVIIIème au XVIIIème Siècle. L. Curmer, Paris, 1855-1857. 8vo. Plates 98, 99, 102, 103.

⁷⁶ Paléogr. Univ. Plate cxcv. Madden, ii. 544-547. Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages, Plate XXI.

⁷⁷ Statuts de l'Ordre du St. Esprit, p. 17, note.

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those to which the Comte De Bastard refers, are devoted almost exclusively to the memoirs of painters in oil and fresco: all the notices of Miniaturists and Illuminators being left hitherto disregarded in the volumes of Vasari, Baldinucci, and Lanzi; for the Literature of this division of the general History of Painting appears to be only now beginning to be developed. Jehan De Foucquet was Painter and Illuminator to Louis XI., King of France, and flourished in the latter half of the Fifteenth century. He was also employed by the Duc De Berry in the illumination of several of the books of a work entitled *L'Ancienneté des Juifs*, now in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, many of the borders of which have been copied and published by M. Curmer.⁷⁸ They are composed of the usual richly-coloured flowers and foliage, painted in compartments and diagonal divisions; with large intricate branches of trees, birds, and insects; figures of children and monsters, in the greatest variety. But his *chef-d'œuvre* is the Hours of Anne of Bretagné, in the Musée des Souverains at the Louvre, on which the very highest praises have been most lavishly bestowed. It commences with a calendar, written on tablets placed in the centre of pictures occupying the whole page; after which follow the prayers for the several services, surrounded by gold borders containing coloured flowers, fruits, and insects, of surpassing beauty and of considerable size; with a large and fine miniature prefixed to all the principal offices. Mr. Noel Humphreys has published two excellent specimens from this volume, as well as a copy of the whole calendar; and four very fine examples of the flower-borders have been given by M. Curmer.⁷⁹

Another excellent decorator of manuscripts who was patronised by a foreign sovereign, though he is in general very little known, was a Florentine artist named ATTAVANTE, or VANTE, one of the many Illuminators and Miniaturists, employed by Matthias Cor-

⁷⁸ Imitation de Jésus Christ, pages 114, 115, 118, 119, 146, 147, 150, 151, 156, 157, 238, 239. A contemporaneous note is inserted in the illuminated work on the Antiquity of the Jews, mentioned above, which states that Foucquet painted the first three books and the ninth of that manuscript.

⁷⁹ Illuminated Books of the Middle-Ages, Plates xxxi. xxxii. The Illuminated Calendar and Home Diary for 1845. Curmer, Imit. de Jésus Christ, pages 306, 307, 310, 311.

vinus, King of Hungary. He succeeded to the throne in 1457, and formed an extensive and very beautiful library in the citadel of Buda; for the improvement of which he maintained four librarians abroad, and thirty scribes and illuminators at home. One of these was the famous Gherardo of Florence, who will be noticed hereafter, and another was the present artist, a follower of the Abate Bartolommeo del San Clemente; who signed himself *Attavante Fiorentino*. M. Curmer has published several very interesting specimens of his style, the finest of which are taken from the Roman History written out of the works of Orosius, a manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. The ornaments consist of very rich Italian arabesques, executed in gold and bright colours; and the margins of the leaves are gilded, or painted purple, and ornamented to the very edges beyond the border, according to a very common practice in the manuscripts of Italy of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries. Two other specimens of this artist published by M. Curmer, consist of light and graceful flowers, the back-grounds being entirely filled up with delicate pen-work, somewhat like that found in the best Spanish or Portuguese manuscripts. Lanzi states that Attavante was living in 1484, but his royal patron died in 1490; and when Buda was taken in 1526 by Solyman II., the libraries were destroyed by the Turkish soldiers. Of the thirty-five thousand volumes at that time contained in the citadel, not four hundred are now known to exist: they are principally in the Imperial Library at Vienna; but some of the illuminated books were preserved in the Medicean and Estensian libraries and at Venice.⁸⁰

Dr. Dibdin has given a minute and an interesting description, with several engraved specimens, of an unusually splendid and genuine Roman Missal, containing Thirty fine Illuminations painted by FRANCESCO VERONESE and his son GIROLAMO, who have signed some of them with their names. The work occupied several years in the execution: and it is uncertain whether the volume

⁸⁰ Curmer, *Imitation de Jésus Christ*, pages 1, 4, 5, 94, 95. Dibdin—*The Bibliographical Decameron*, ii. p. 455–460. Lanzi, *Hist. of Painting in Italy*, i. Florentine School, Epoch 1.

was painted for Sixtus IV. or Julius II., whose reigns extend from A.D. 1471 to 1513, since they were both of the family Delle Rovere, and bore the same armorial-ensigns. This very fine service-book is of rather large dimensions, measuring $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $10\frac{1}{2}$; and the style of the different decorations exhibits the variations of taste which had happened during the time that it was in progress. The earlier paintings in the volume were executed in an older style of Art by Francesco Veronese, who was usually called "*dei Libri*,"—not less to distinguish him from other artists of Verona,—than to indicate his great practice and excellence in illustrating books. His colours are transparent, and his tints, says Dibdin, "are generally pink, lilac, purple, or green; with a peculiar touch of the pen, by which he marks the folds of the drapery and the anatomy of the human-figure." Girolamo's paintings are in bold, rich, and sparkling, opaque colours and gilding, partaking of the taste which the rising Flemish school of illumination was then rapidly introducing into manuscripts. When this splendid book was sold in 1816, it produced £307.⁸¹

In the preceding Lecture we observed, that the immediate and legitimate successors of such Illuminators as lived in the latter part of the Fifteenth century, were the decorators of those fine books of devotion which the Early Printers of Paris produced in wonderful imitation, if not in emulation, of manuscripts.⁸² These volumes are well known under the general name of "*Heures Gothiques*," and M. Brunet has given a very copious and interesting account of them at the end of his invaluable "*Manuel du Libraire*."⁸³ They are decorated with large pictures placed at the commencement of the several offices, and with ornamental borders enclosing the other pages. Four of the most familiar of these borders, composed of forest-scenes and hunting-subjects, with two others made up of large branches of oak,—M. Curmer has copied and adapted to his own publication; attributing them to an artist named JOLLAT, who might have been a designer, and

⁸¹ The Bibliographical Decameron, i. p. cxlii.—cliv.

⁸² Lecture I. pages 29–31.

⁸³ Edit. Paris, 1844. T. iv. 2de partie, p. 769–784.

even an engraver on wood, for the Early Parisian Typographers, Vérard and Vostre, Pigouchet, Kerver, and Anabat. M. Curmer, however, has greatly increased the proportions of the original borders; and has printed them in colours in which they never before appeared, the original impressions consisting only of black and white.⁶⁴

Most of those artists who have been already mentioned, executed their works in rich colours and gilding; but the ancient practice of making drawings with a pen only, existed throughout the Sixteenth and even the Seventeenth century; when it was commonly known by the heraldical term of "drawing in trick," or "tricking." A very remarkable series of designs executed in this manner, was produced in the close of the Fifteenth century, by a religious recluse of Guy's Cliff near Warwick, named JOHN ROUS, who was also an antiquary and an historian, and who died January 14th, 1491. They consist of Fifty-three large square drawings, well and carefully delineated and shaded with a pen, in a brown colour, illustrative of the life of Richard Beauchamp, fourteenth Earl of Warwick and Earl of Aumerle, who died in 1439; which was also written by the artist. The manuscript containing these illustrations is preserved in the Cottonian collection, and the fac-similes of them published by Strutt, are some of the best copies which he has produced from decorated manuscripts.⁶⁵ Rous was a chantry-priest at a small chapel founded by Guy, Earl of Warwick, at Guy's Cliff; of which he is frequently called "the Hermit," from the solitary life which he led there. He devoted much of his life, however, to historical and genealogical literature and art, and produced in his retirement several decorated manuscripts; though Sir William Dugdale could not discover any more of them than a chronicle of the Kings of England, and "a Roll of the Earls of Warwick, wherein, beside a brief historie relating to each of them, their pictures and arms are with much curiosity depicted." One

⁶⁴ *Imitation de Jésus Christ*, pages 290, 291, 294, 295, 308, 309. See also *The Bibliographical Decameron*, vol. i. p. 101, 102.

⁶⁵ *Manners and Customs*, ii. plates vii-lix. pages 119, 121-127: the original manuscript in the Cottonian Library is marked Julius, E. IV.

of the drawings executed by Rous on this roll is an effigy of himself engaged in writing it; which induced Walpole to say that "he drew his own portrait and other semblances, but in too rude a manner to be called paintings." He had, however, probably seen only the Warwick Roll in the Library of The College of Arms; which is a work very much inferior to the illustrations of the life of Richard Beauchamp.⁸⁶

Independently of the intrinsic excellence of M. Curmer's Illuminated edition of the "*Imitation de Jésus Christ*," as a publication of extraordinary beauty,—the specimens which it supplies of illuminations identified with the names of the artists by whom they were painted, render it of still grèater value as an historical record of many such individuals who are not elsewhere to be found. In one of those instances is preserved the name of CARLO PALAVICINI, an illuminator who died in 1491, of whose works there are two specimens given, taken from the "*Rituel de Lodi*," in the Bibliothèque de Sainte Gènévieve. There is not anything very original in these borders, which consist of the Raffaele-arabesque, or acanthus-guilloche ornament, as it was commonly painted in Italy from classical examples after the revival of Art; but it is executed with great accuracy and richness of colouring, though somewhat resembling the fan-painting of the Eighteenth century.

The beautiful works in miniature executed by Bartolommeo, had produced many successful imitators in Italy by the close of the Fifteenth century. One of these was a Florentine artist named GHERARDO; who appears to have been a person of almost universal ability, since he was a worker in mosaic, a painter of frescoes, and he engraved in the style of Martin Schön and Albrecht Dürer. His miniatures were executed chiefly for the service-books of the churches of San Gilio and Santa Maria dei Fiori at Florence; but he also painted some for Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary. "These last," says Vasari, "on the death of that

⁸⁶ Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated*, Lond. 1656. Fol. p. 183-185. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, i. p. 97. A specimen of the drawings on the Warwick Roll is given by the Rev. James Dallaway, in his *Inquiry into the Origin and Progress of Heraldry in England*. Glouc. 1793. 4to. p. 133.

monarch, with others by the hand of Vante, and the rest of the masters who were working for the Hungarian King in Florence, were taken and paid for by the illustrious Lorenzo De Medici; and were ultimately deposited in the Medicean Library. Gherardo died at the commencement of the Sixteenth century, aged 73, leaving all his possessions in art to his pupil STEFANO; who, however, became an architect, and resigned illuminating and painting in miniature to the elder BOCCARDINO. He decorated the greater part of the service-books in the Abbey of Florence: but on the suppression of that monastery by the French government, the miniatures were cut out of the volumes, and in other instances both books and paintings were destroyed together. GIROLAMO PADOVANO, called DEL SANTO, was another follower of Bartolommeo, whose manner he imitated in the miniatures of certain books which he painted for the church of Santa Maria Nuova at Florence.

We have now arrived at the most eminent of all the many excellent artists of the Italian School of Miniature, the universally-famous DON GIORGIO GIULIO, or GIULIO CLOVIO; who as worthily closes up the history of the Art in the end of the Fifteenth century, as Giotto may be said to have commenced it two hundred years before. He was born at Grisone, a town in the Province of Austrian-Italy called Croatia; and his family having had a Macedonian origin, he has signed one of his works with the inscription "*Julius Macedo. fe. 1553.*" As Vasari states that "from his childhood he was kept to the study of letters; and that he took to design by instinct,"—it seems to be almost unquestionable that he was educated in some religious-establishment; where also he acquired the rudiments of the Art of Illuminating as it then existed. When he was eighteen he went into Italy, and became a pupil of Giulio Romano; but though his original inclination led him,—like many others of the early miniaturists—to the painting of large subjects; his instructor and his friends perceived that his real excellence lay in the execution of small pictures. He accordingly carefully cultivated this talent, and placed himself under the instruction of Girolamo Veronese, called also "*dei Libri*," a celebrated decorator of books, of whom we have already spoken.

After the devastation of Rome by the Spaniards in 1527, for the sake of security he attached himself to the Order of Scopetine Canons-Regular at Mantua, and took their habit in the monastery of San Ruffino. It was, however, probably, as some kind of lay-brother only; since Vasari states that "he then received a promise, to the effect that, beside the quiet repose and leisure to serve God there afforded him, he should also be allowed time to work occasionally at his miniatures, as it were for recreation." From this time he retained only his second baptismal name Giulio, and probably Italianised that of his Family, Clove, or Cleev, into Clovio: he also received the ordinary ecclesiastical title of Don or Dominus, by which he is most commonly known. In the course of the next five years, he executed several very excellent works; but in one of those removals from one monastery to another, which Vasari states was the manner of those friars, he broke his leg, and was taken to the monastery of Candiano to be cured.

The case was improperly treated, but from this time commences the most famous part of the life of Giulio Clovio. He had been originally encouraged as a young artist by the Cardinal Grimani, Legate of Perugia, and when that dignitary learned the situation of Don Giulio, he procured the Pope's permission for him to resign the monastic-habit, and received him into his own especial service. For the Cardinals Grimani and Alessandro Farnese, he executed many of his most celebrated works; the account of which, as given by Vasari from his own immediate knowledge, is almost incredible, both for number and excellence. He illustrated for the Cardinal Grimani an Office of the Virgin which had been very finely written by Monterchi, an eminent calligrapher; on which he put forth all his talents, the painting of which occupied him nine years. This manuscript is still extant, and is in a fine state of preservation at Naples in the Museo Borbonico. He also decorated a copy of his patron's Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which is now in the Soane Museum. It contains an historiated head-piece and title, with a few marginal ornaments of singular richness and elegance; and a large miniature of the Conversion of St. Paul, enclosed within an elaborate frame, com-

posed of whole-length figures and trophies, and the portrait of Cardinal Grimani, all painted in the most lustrous colouring. Coloured copies of these interesting illuminations, have been published by Mr. Noel Humphreys and Mr. Westwood; and M. Silvestre has also produced a beautiful specimen of one of Giulio Clovio's miniatures from a very fine manuscript of Dante's Vision now in the Vatican; for which, however, he executed only some of the head-pieces.⁸⁷ Another magnificent relique of this artist, consisting of a large miniature of the Crucifixion, has been engraved by Mr. W. H. Shaw, the original of which is supposed to have been executed about 1580 for Gregory XIII., and was brought from the Vatican Library by the Abate Celotti during the campaigns in Italy at the time of the French Revolution. The frame of this picture is of extraordinary richness and beauty, being composed of a very florid cartouche painted *en camaïeu d'or*; and historiated with compartments containing small figures of the Evangelists in bright colours.⁸⁸

These specimens, as well as many others which may easily be seen, will convey a very clear idea of the style and manner of painting of Giulio Clovio. They all exemplify that peculiar inclination which he had to introduce large figures into small pictures and borders, which caused him to be called "the Michel-Angelo of Painters in Miniature;" and they especially exhibit his remarkable richness of colouring and sweetness of painting and stippling, of which practice he appears to have been almost the founder. His figures, however, are sometimes inaccurately and ungracefully drawn, and he is considered to have been inferior in taste and purity to his instructor Girolamo. Though the separate works of Giulio Clovio are very numerous, he generally followed the practice of his time in decorating a volume with very few paintings; some manuscripts of the period having no more

⁸⁷ Illuminated Books of the Middle-Ages, Plates xxxvii. xxxviii. J. O. Westwood Palæographia Sacra Pictoria, 1843-1845. 4to. No. 35. Silvestre Paléogr. Univ. Plate clxii. Madden, ii. 445-447.

⁸⁸ W. H. Shaw, Decorative Arts of the Middle Ages, Ecclesiastical and Civil, 1851. 8vo. The original miniature described above was shewn at the Exhibition of Mediæval Art in the Adelphi in 1850.

than the first page decorated. Giulio Clovio died in 1578, at the age of 80, and there is something extremely touching and honourable in the manner in which Giorgio Vasari writes of him as he was living ten years previously. "Now Don Giulio,—although being old he does not study or do anything but seek the salvation of his soul by good works, and a life spent wholly apart from mundane affairs, being in all respects an old man, and living as such;—does yet continue to work occasionally, amidst the repose and comfort by which he is surrounded in the Farnese palace: where he willingly and most courteously shews his productions to those who visit him for the purpose of seeing them, as they would any other of the wonders of Rome."

The first Illuminator of whom we have any knowledge in the Sixteenth century, was called GODEFROY. He has inserted his initial G, and in one instance his name, as it was discovered by Dr. Waagen, in a manuscript of the "Triumphs of Petrarch" illustrated with very fine paintings, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal at Paris. This discovery led to the identification of the paintings of another manuscript, evidently executed by the same hand, in The British Museum. The decorations of the latter are painted in the old beautiful *Veneda* colour, or *Camaïeu-gris* tint, heightened with white, and, in some parts, enriched with azure, red, and gold. The manuscript in The British Museum consists of a series of supposititious Dialogues between Francis I., King of France, and Julius Cæsar, whom he is represented in the preface to have encountered in the park of St. Germain en Laye, on the last day of April, five months after the birth of his second son. He then "subtly questioned him on certain points in the first book of his Commentaries, relating to the Swiss and Germans; to which Cæsar, their first conqueror, gave a gracious reply; informing him of their real character, with many other things both good and profitable, which ought to be believed; inasmuch as they are true and faithful, not the smallest matter having been set down by hear-say." This curious composition seems to have been intended as an ingenious contrivance to lead Francis to adopt a certain policy towards Switzerland and Germany, by means of a kind of catechism taken

from Cæsar's Commentaries, which commences thus: "The Most Christian King Francis demands, 'Into how many parts is that Gaul divided which formerly gave you so much labour? I pray you tell me:' to which the Roman Emperor courteously replies, calling Francis "a bountiful and pacific king, and the true inheritor of his glory and fortune." It is probable, however, that Godefroy's fine illuminations of this volume, were far more effectual in procuring for it the King's attention, than all the ingenuity and flattery of the author. Mr. Humphreys remarks of it that it contains a great number of highly-wrought miniatures, consisting of "sieges, attacks in mountain-passes, marching-scenes, camp-scenes, etc. in endless variety: but some of the night-scenes are perhaps the most beautiful, in which the effect of fires and also of the stars, produced by means of gold, is very fine and ingenious."⁸⁰

Another French Illuminator and Miniaturist of this period, of very superior taste and ability, is supposed to have been JEHAN DUTILLET, Sieur De la Bussière. He flourished from the early part to the middle of the Sixteenth century, under the patronage of Charles IX., to whom he presented a volume of unusual splendour, entitled "*Recueil des Rois de France*," preserved in the Bibliothèque Impériale. One of the portrait-illuminations of this manuscript, consisting of a very fine whole-length of Francis I. on his throne, has been engraved by Willemin, by the Comte De Bastard, and by M. Ferdinand Séré. In the first instance it consists of an outline of the King's effigy only, without any part of the very elegant cartouche-frame in which it is enclosed. A complete and beautiful copy of the painting then formed one of the most splendid decorations of the Comte de Bastard's unrivalled publication; and it has been subsequently very successfully produced, though on a reduced scale, in M. F. Séré's treasury of ancient art entitled "*Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*." The cartouche-border has been still more recently adopted by M. Curmer, as the decoration to his fac-simile of the original title-page of Marillac's Translation of the "*Imitation de*

⁸⁰ Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages, Plate xxxv.

Jésus Christ, published in 1621. In that work also, he has published some specimens of the other borders, and of the marginal ornaments executed by Dutillet in the same manuscript, which consist of graceful branches and flowers very richly coloured.⁹⁰

But though Jehan Dutillet has been thus generally received as one of the finest French miniaturists of the Sixteenth century, there is considerable doubt as to the truth of the supposition; since he was really the King's Prothonotary and Secretary, and Registrar of the Parliament of Paris. He was appointed by Henry II. of France to examine the ancient charters of the realm, and he presented six volumes of manuscripts to the King as the result of his researches. The book, however, by which he is most eminently known and connected with the Art of Illumination, is entitled "*Recueil des Rois de France, leur Couronne et Maison*"; in which he must be regarded as the first author of French history founded on authentic documents. It was printed after his decease, which took place October 2nd, 1570, under the care of his brother, the Bishop of Meaux: and it is the Presentation-manuscript of that history, given by the author to Charles IX., written on vellum and splendidly illuminated with a great number of miniatures of French Sovereigns,—which has caused Dutillet to be regarded as an excellent artist rather than one of the most learned persons of his period. The last edition published in 1618, is considered to be one of the most important works extant on the history of France; and it is embellished with numerous royal effigies engraved on wood in cartouche-frames, the elegance of which shews them to have been copied from the illuminated manuscript.

M. Curmer has preserved and identified the name and works of another decorator of the illustrated manuscripts of the Sixteenth century,—JOHAN BENZEL, of Ulm; who was probably one of that

⁹⁰ *Monuments Français Inédits, pour servir à l'Histoire des Arts depuis le VI^e siècle jusqu'au commencement du XVII^e: par N. X. Willemin, ii. 1839. Fol. Pl. 237, p. 44.* In the same very valuable work are contained four other specimens of portraits of French sovereigns also copied from Dutillet's manuscript, Plates 32, 80, 120, 163. *Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance par MM. P. Lacroix et F. Séré, ii. 1849. 8vo. Miniatures, Pl. xxix.* *Peintures et Ornaments des Manuscrits, par le Comte A. De Bastard. Curmer—Imitation de Jésus Christ, 1857, p. 362, 363, 366, 367.*

early school of Flemish and German Miniaturists, with whom Vasari closes up his inestimable *Anecdotes of Painters*. He painted a choral-book for the Convent of Salem; which is now in the Bibliothèque d'Heidelberg, the borders of which are designed in a large bold style, in the manner of the *Heures Burinées*, without any terminating line, consisting of flowers, birds, insects, and sometimes human-figures. Benzel appears to have flourished about A.D. 1597 and 1599.⁹¹

Dr. Dibdin has given a very interesting account of a finely illuminated volume of the Diploma-species, painted by an artist who is named in it as FRANCISCO DE HERRERA, of Seville. It comprises miniatures of sacred subjects, portraits, and heraldry: it was executed for Philip IV., King of Spain, and it bears the date of 1637.⁹²

We have already mentioned FREDERIC BRENTEL, as an excellent painter in opaque water-colours of the middle of the Seventeenth century.⁹³ M. Silvestre has published one specimen of his art from a beautiful book of Hours executed by him for Wilhelm, Margrave of Baden; at the end of which there is an inscription in golden letters stating that it was "begun and finished in A.D. 1647, by Frederic Brentel, in the 67th year of his age." The historians of Art have taken very little notice of this meritorious painter; since they state only that he was born at Strasbourg in 1590, that he was the instructor of Johann Wilhelm Baur, and that he executed small paintings in opaque colours with exquisite delicacy. Sir Frederick Madden, in his Translation of the text of Silvestre's "*Paléographie Universelle*," is at issue with the French Editors of that work, as to the real time intended to be expressed in the inscription at the end of the manuscript painted by Brentel. It is considered by the latter to mean that Brentel had previously commenced the work, and that in 1647 he completed it; for they object that "it is impossible to suppose that such a volume could have been commenced and finished in a single year." Sir

⁹¹ Imitation de Jésus Christ, p. 252, 253.

⁹² The Bibliographical Decameron, i. p. cxvii. note.

⁹³ Lecture I. page 33.

F. Madden, on the contrary, remarks in a note that such "is the real interpretation of the Latin memorandum,"⁹⁴ and he is right: since small paintings in opaque water-colours, when they are executed by an experienced and tasteful artist, who is confident of every touch he places on his picture,—are more rapidly produced than any other kind of coloured drawings.

The close of the Seventeenth century brings us to the painters of the gorgeous service-books of the Royal-Chapels and religious-houses of France; of whom, however, our information is little more than conjectural. The most extraordinary Manuscript of this class, now extant, is a Gradual, executed for the Royal Monastery of St. Audoenus of the Benedictines of St. Maur, written by DOM. DAN. D' EAUBONNE, a monk of that congregation, in 1682. Dr. Dibdin assumes that he was the illuminator as well as the writer of that wonderful volume, but this cannot now be positively ascertained: it is known only that he died at Paris, February 11th, 1714. The late Mr. Henry Petrie, who originally described the book for Dr. Dibdin, states that it measures nearly three feet in length; and that the Roman letter in which it is written, and also the musical notes are admirably executed, and are about an inch in height. It contains much splendid gilding, and the miniatures are very finely painted, frequently *en Camaïeu* of different rich colours, in conformity with the taste of the period. The production of the work is stated to have occupied thirty years; and it is now preserved in the Public Library at Rouen.⁹⁵ In the fine Versailles Service-book to which we have already referred, there occur the names of BAUDOUIN, which is inscribed on a girandole, with the date of MDCCLXVII.; and of E. F. H. MERCIER, beneath the first large drawing of the Nativity; but there is not anything farther known concerning them.

The same remark may be made respecting another fine French manuscript of this period, containing the Penitential Psalms; which was exhibited from my own Library as one of the illustra-

⁹⁴ Paleogr. Univ. Plate CCLXIX. Madden, ii. p. 745.

⁹⁵ The Bibliographical Decameron, i. p. CLXXXIV. See also Dr. Dibdin's Bibliographical Tour, 1818. i. p. 165.

tions of the First of these Lectures. An inscription at the end of the volume states, that it was executed at the Hôtel des Invalides in 1691, and the dedication to the Duchess De Rohan is signed R.D.P.L. But whether these initials express the name of the writer, or of the illuminator, or both, cannot now be conjectured. It is, however, exceedingly probable, that he was one of the Twelve Priests of the Mission, who were first attached to the Hospital in 1675; and it is not unlikely that the records of the Establishment would identify the individual.

Having thus attempted to give some account of such Illuminators as are the best known by their works or memoirs, we have drawn up the following Chronological List of their Names and periods, for the purpose of supplying a more easy means of reference to them. It does not, however, contain all the artists of this class of whom there are existing traces; since in the sale-catalogue of Mr. William Young Ottley's Illuminations and Miniatures, sold in 1838, there are contained some other names and initials. Nor can it be doubted that if such a collection of illuminations and miniatures from manuscripts were now to be brought forward, with that extended knowledge of the subject which has been elicited by MM. De Bastard, De Viel-Castel, and others, a very different catalogue might be produced, and many specimens identified which were at that time unknown. The Initials which occur in these paintings, are B.F., in some scripture-miniatures very richly gilt and coloured; which might possibly mean Bartolommeo Fiorentino; some borders with boys and flowers are marked with L.X.P.M.; and, on a very fine drawing of the Resurrection, within a rich cartouche historiated border of flowers and fruit, are the letters A.P.F. Of entire Names of Unknown Artists, there appear Armi Grimani, Antonio Maria Antinoli, C. 1650, "*Frances Belaschen. me fecit,*" and the imperfect signature "*Nebriid Pinx.*" There were also some miniatures of very superior merit, by an artist styling himself "*Apollonius De Bonfratellis, de Capronica Capella, et Sacristæ Miniator,*" surrounded by frames and borders in the rich classical style of the Sixteenth century, a specimen of which is given by Mr. Shaw.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST
OF
ILLUMINATORS
AND
MINIATURISTS,

FROM THE SIXTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

PERIODS.	NAMES OF ARTISTS.	NATION.	AUTHORITIES.
VI. Century.	DAGÆUS, Abbot of Iniskeltra: —Scribe, Illuminator, and Binder.	<i>Irish.</i>	O'Connor.
—	GENEREUS:—Teacher of Pic- ture-Drawing in the Irish schools and in the Monastery of Adamnanus, at Iona.	<i>Anglo-Saxon.</i>	O'Connor.
—	ULTAN, a Monk:—Illuminator.	<i>Irish.</i>	O'Connor.
VIII. Century.	EADFRITH and ÆTHELWOLD, Bishops of Durham:—Writers and Illuminators of "The Durham Gospels."	<i>Anglo-Saxons.</i>	Astle.
Circa A.D. 944.	DUNSTAN, Abbot of Glaston- bury, and afterwards Arch- bishop of Canterbury:— Scribe, Illuminator, and Ar- tificer in metals.	<i>Anglo-Saxon.</i>	Wanley and Strutt.
A.D. 970.	GODEMAN, Abbot of Thorney: —Writer and supposed Illu- minator of "The Devonshire Benedictional."	<i>Anglo-Saxon.</i>	Gage-Rokewood.
A.D. 980.	ERVENIUS, Monk of St. Ed- mondsbury:—Scribe and Il- luminator.	<i>Anglo-Saxon.</i>	William of Malmes- bury.
Circa A.D. 984.	PANTALEO, SIMEON, MI- CHAEL, and SIMEON BLA- CHERNITA, GEORGIUS, ME- NAS, MICHAEL PARVUS, and NESTOR:—Illuminators of Manuscripts extant in the Vatican and at Bruxelles.	<i>Greeks.</i>	Comte De Viel- Castel.
End of the X. Century.	JOHANNES, Monk of St. Gall: —Illuminator of an Evange- listarium for Otho III. Em- peror of Germany, containing his Portrait.	<i>Italian.</i>	Cte. De Viel-Castel.
A.D. 1076.	OSMUND, Bishop of Salis- bury:—Scribe, Illuminator, and Binder.	<i>Anglo-Saxon.</i>	Johannes Brompton.

PERIODS.	NAMES OF ARTISTS.	NATION.	AUTHORITIES.
XII. Century.	EADWINUS, Monk of Christ-Church, Canterbury:—Scribe and Illuminator.	<i>Anglo-Saxon.</i>	Wanley.
A.D. 1213.	ODERICO, Canon of Sienna : Miniaturist.	<i>Italian.</i>	Lanzi.
A.D. 1235–1273.	MATTHEW PARIS, Monk of St. Alban's : — Historian, Scribe, and Illuminator.	<i>French, supposed.</i>	Strutt.
End of the XIII. Century.	ODERIGI D'AGUBBIO :—Illuminator.	<i>Italian.</i>	Dante and Vasari.
After A.D. 1300.	FRANCO BOLOGNESE :—Illuminator.	<i>Italian.</i>	Dante and Vasari.
A.D. 1340.	DON SILVESTRO and DON SIMON, Camaldoline Monks of the <i>Angeli</i> at Florence :—Illuminators and Miniaturists.	<i>Italians.</i>	Baldinucci and Vasari.
A.D. 1344.	JOHAN DE GUSE :—Illuminator.	<i>French, supposed.</i>	Strutt.
A.D. 1368.	JOHAN DE OPPAW (Troppau), Priest and Canon of Brunn : —Scribe and Illuminator.	<i>German.</i>	Silvestre and Champollion.
A.D. 1370–1408.	DON CYBO, called "The Monk of the Golden Islands :"—Scribe, Illuminator, and Miniaturist in Natural-history.	<i>Genoese.</i>	Baldinucci and Vasari.
A.D. 1387–1455.	FRA GIOVANNI DA FIESOLE, of the Order of Preaching-Friars :—Illuminator and Miniaturist.	<i>Tuscan.</i>	Vasari.
Born A.D. 1408, Died A.D. 1491.	DON BARTOLOMMEO, Abate del San Clemente in Arezzo, from the Monastery of the <i>Angeli</i> at Florence :—Illuminator and Miniaturist.	<i>Italian.</i>	Vasari.
A.D. 1463.	ALAN STRAYLER, of St. Alban's :—Illuminator.	<i>English, supposed.</i>	Weever, Strutt, and Clutterbuck.
Middle of the XV. Century.	ANDRIEU BEAUNEVEU :—Illuminator to Johan, Duc De Berry.	<i>Hainault.</i>	Froissart—Cte. De Viel-Castel.
A.D. 1461–1463.	JEHAN FOUCQUET :—Painter to Louis XI. King of France, and Illuminator to the Duc De Berry.	<i>Tours.</i>	Comte A. De Bastard — Curmer's Illum. Edit. of L'Imit. de Jésus Christ.
A.D. 1480.	ATTAVANTE or VANTE :—Miniaturist and Illuminator to Corvinus, King of Hungary.	<i>Florentine.</i>	Vasari — Lanzi — Dibdin — Curmer.

PERIODS.	NAMES OF ARTISTS.	NATION.	AUTHORITIES.
A.D. 1480.	FRANCESCO and GIROLAMO VERONESE, called "Dei Libri : " — Illuminators and Miniaturists.	Veronese.	Dibdin.
A.D. 1486.	— JOLLAT :—designed ornamental and historiated borders engraved on wood for the "Heures Gothiques," printed by Simon Vostre and Philip Pigouchet, at Paris.	French, supposed.	Curmer—Init. de Jésus Christ.
A.D. 1491.	JOHAN ROUS, Hermit of Guy's Cliff near Warwick :—executed historical and heraldical drawings in trick and colours on manuscript-rolls.	English, supposed.	Walpole, Strutt, Dallaway.
Died A.D. 1497.	CARLO PALAVICINI : — painted Arabesque-ornaments in manuscripts.	Italian.	Curmer.—Imit. de Jésus Christ.
End of the XV. Century.	GHERARDO OF FLORENCE and GIROLAMO PADOVANO, called "Del Santo"—STEFANO and BOCCARDINI :—Miniaturists.	Italians.	Vasari.
Born A.D. 1498.	DON GIORGIO GUILIO, CROVATA, called CLOVIO :—Miniaturist and Illuminator.	Croatia.	Vasari.
Died A.D. 1578.	A.D. 1519. GODEFROY :—Illuminator.	French.	H. Noel Humphreys.
About A.D. 1550.	JEHAN DUTILLET :—Called Miniaturist to Charles IX. King of France. (?)	French.	N. X. Willemin—Cte. De Bastard—MM. P. La Croix et F. De Séré.
A.D. 1557–1570.	APOLLONIO DE' BUONFRATELLI DI CAPRANICA :—Illuminist to the Apostolic Chamber.	Italian.	Ottley's Collection Madden in Shaw's Illuminated Ornaments.
A.D. 1597–1599.	JOHAN BENZEL of Ulm :—Illuminator.	German.	Curmer—Imit. de Jésus Christ.
A.D. 1637.	FRANCISCO DE HERERA of Seville :—Illuminator and Miniaturist.	Spain.	Dibdin.
A.D. 1647.	FREDERIC BRENTTEL : — Miniaturist in opaque water-colours.	German.	Silvestre.
A.D. 1682.	DOM. DAN. D'EAUBONNE—Calligrapher, and possibly Illuminator and Miniaturist of the Gradual in the Public Library at Rouen (?)	French.	Dibdin.
A.D. 1767.	BAUDOUIN—E. F. H. MERCIER :—possibly Miniaturists and Painters of Ornaments in opaque water-colours in the Versailles Service-books (?)	French.	Silvestre

In the previous attempt to identify the colours used in decorating mediæval manuscripts, we have made frequent reference to the paintings executed for Henry III. and Edward III. at Westminster; and it seems to be proper before concluding these notices of ancient artists to add a few words relating to THE ILLUMINATORS OF ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL. In 1292 a *Master Walter*, apparently an Englishman, was the principal painter, who received 1s. 2d. per day; his two assistants, *Andrew* and *Giletto*, probably both Italians, being paid 3s. 4d., and once 4s., per week each. But the greatest pictorial works at this place, were executed between the years 1351 and 1354, under the direction of *Hugh De St. Alban's*, called also "*Hugh the Painter*," who designed and disposed the several subjects for the other artists, as well as painted them,—for which he was paid 1s. per day. He appears to have been employed only occasionally, since there are but 85 days of his work recorded on the account-rolls. Two other artists, *William Maynard* and *John Cotton*, received the same payment; but there is a *John Barneby* recorded as having painted 27 days, who was paid 2s. daily. The chief Painters on Glass, who drew the images on the windows, were *Master John De Chester* and six assistants, who were retained at 1s. and 1s. 2d. per day. The inferior painters were paid from 10d. to 5d. per day, and the Gilders, and those who fixed the figures of stars, and other ornaments cut out of tin, called "*prynters*," and probably executed the diaper-work,—received 5d. and 6d. daily. By all these artists the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel were completely covered with Illuminated Paintings; which comprised 46 *Figures of Angels*, 5 feet high; 40 *Youths*, of about 3 feet; 32 *Knights*, 80 *Paintings of Scripture-subjects under the windows*; and 16 *other Pictures*, delineated at the east end of the building.⁹⁶

We have now arrived at the last section of this subject, THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE ART OF ILLUMINATING: and it is both curious and interesting to observe the very obscure perceptions

⁹⁶ Lecture I. p. 34. Paléogr. Univ. Pl. ccv. Madden, ii. p. 571, 572.

⁹⁷ Antiquities of Westminster, the Old Palace, St. Stephen's Chapel, etc. by J. T. Smith, p. 163.

which existed on the subject, down to even the close of the last century. It was then evidently very imperfectly appreciated, and anything like an æsthetical feeling for it as a peculiar School of Art, was utterly unknown. The few remarks on Illuminated books made by Casley in 1734, in the Preface to his Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library, are the least valuable part of that excellent Introduction. He notices the capital-letters and pictures inserted by the Illuminators, with the blanks left for initials in unfinished manuscripts; and then adds "also they laid on the colours so thick, that they might be felt as well as seen, especially the gold-colour, such as is now lost to painters: so that whatever the moderns do as to proportions, the ancients certainly exceeded them; either in the goodness of their colours, or their skill in preparing them, or both."

The next general notice of Illuminated books, is that contained in Mr. Hocker's very valuable descriptive Preface to the Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts, drawn up in 1762; which exhibits a rather more intelligent appreciation of the real value of these Early Works of Art. After having enumerated the various subjects comprised in that wonderful collection, he adds, that there is "a prodigious variety of manuscripts, which, exclusive of their importance in other respects, are highly valuable on account of the many beautiful Illuminations and Paintings with which they are embellished: those pictures being not only useful for illustrating the subject-matter of the books in which they are respectively placed;—but as furnishing excellent lessons and useful hints to painters, perpetuating the representations of the principal personages, buildings, utensils, habits, armour, and manners, of the age in which they were painted; and very probably preserving some pieces of eminent painters, of whose works no other remains are extant."

But it was not until the year 1773, when Joseph Strutt first issued his invaluable "*Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*," that any collection of representations, however indifferent, was published in England of Historical scenes taken from extant and authentic Manuscripts; by which those Monuments of Ancient Art gradually became generally known. This work was reproduced

in its most complete form in 1793, with Seventy-two Etchings by the Author; the greater part of them, however, being very carelessly drawn, and scratchily engraven; without any of that antique feeling and quaint accuracy with which such fac-similes ought to be executed. The plates were also printed in an ink very unfavourable to the clearness of the outline, a dull brown-pink; which, however, was intended to represent the bistre-colour of the pen-drawings of the older English manuscripts, and to harmonise with any attempt which might be made to paint the other plates in the colours of the originals. In respect of entire copies of illuminations, the *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, is the most valuable of all the works of Strutt. His other productions contain many very interesting and appropriate extracts from a considerable number of some of the best illuminated volumes in The British Museum; but in this work only are to be found his most complete representations of mediæval historical miniatures.

In the year 1803, Mr. Thomas Astle, then Keeper of the Records in the Tower, published an improved edition of his "*Origin and Progress of Writing*;" in which he inserted a few sensible and intelligent notices illustrative of the history and value of illuminations in manuscripts; which were almost professedly founded on the copies of them published by Strutt. Brief and imperfect as this sketch was, it constituted nearly all the best information on the subject which existed at the time; and was therefore introduced entire into the Second edition of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*," under the word "Illuminating." The same article continued to appear in that work, without any alteration, down to "the Seventh edition," which appeared in 1842.

But a far more important attempt to excite a public interest in the beauty and value of Historical Illuminations had been made in France in the year 1782, by the Abbé Jean Joseph Rive, when he issued a Prospectus for subscriptions to his proposed "*Essai sur l'Art de Vérifier l'Age des Miniatures Peintes dans les Manuscrits, depuis le XI^e siècle jusqu'au XVII^e.*" This work is much more remarkable for its rarity, and the high price which it has produced,

than it is for either its intrinsic value, or for the excellence of the specimens, which are but indifferently copied in it. The original Prospectus stipulated that it should appear in a folio form, and contain Twenty-six tableaux, selected out of 12,000 miniatures, coloured and heightened with gold; the whole impression consisting of no more than Eighty copies, Three of which were to be taken off on vellum,—to be illustrated by a manuscript text, and to be completed within twelve months. The subscription-price was to be paid in advance, and was fixed at 25 louis d'or for subscribers, and 40 louis for non-subscribers. There is a copy of this very uncommon work in The British Museum: and it consists of a series of slight outline-etchings, printed on very thin paper and mounted, indifferently painted with thin transparent water-colours, and gilded with shell-gold. The subjects selected are historical miniatures, with very few specimens of the most characteristic ornaments of illuminated manuscripts, borders and initial-letters. There is a short written description attached to each illumination; but the Abbe's text was never published.

In the year 1794 Mr. James Edwards printed, rather than published, a quarto tract, containing an account of his very celebrated volume of devotions usually called "The Bedford Missal;" with four outline-engravings taken from the principal illuminations and the text of that splendid manuscript. They were executed with the best skill of the period for such works, though not very accurately, and in rather a feeble and unfeeling manner; and the plates were subsequently bought by Richard Gough, and inserted in his work on *Sepulchral Monuments*.⁹⁷ A very beautiful copy of the centre part of the finest miniature, representing the appearance of St. George to the Regent Duke of Bedford, for whom the manuscript was executed, drawn and engraved by Mr. G. Lewis,—was published by Dr. Dibdin in 1817. The tract of Mr. Edwards is now of uncommon occurrence; but the rarest copies of it are those which have the plates printed on vellum, with an attempt at painting and gilding them in imitation of the originals. One of these copies is in the Cracherode Library in

⁹⁷ Vol. II. Part II. 1796. p. 112-114.

The British Museum, where also the Bedford Missal itself is now preserved.⁹⁸

During the long interval which elapsed before the appearance of *The Bibliographical Decameron*, the only important specimens of Illuminations which were produced, were the copies made for Colonel Johnes to illustrate his Translations of the Chronicles of Froissart and Monstrelet, taken chiefly from the engravings in Bernard De Montfaucon's "*Monumens de la Monarchie Francoise*."⁹⁹ In even the fine original work, in which the engravings are very elaborately executed, the subjects are not unfrequently inaccurately and unfeelingly delineated; and the more recent plates published by Colonel Johnes were not improved by being re-drawn from such imperfect copies. Those plates illustrating Froissart's Chronicles were Sixty in number, and were etched and shaded in aqua-tint, but the Fifty-one prints attached to Monstrelet's history were executed in outline by Henry Moses.¹⁰⁰ As a very extensive collection of historical pictorial remains, the value of Montfaucon's work cannot be too highly estimated; since most of the specimens illustrative of the later middle-ages, were taken from very fine illuminated manuscripts; some of which it is probable are now no longer in existence. All the engravings from them are laboriously executed and finished, though not with equal truth and feeling; but in several instances the superior art and effect of the plates are indisputable evidence of the excellence of the originals.

The few attempts which were made in former years to produce specimens of Illuminations, or illustrate the history of the art to which they belong, were either too imperfect or too exclusive, or too costly, to excite any general interest concerning them, or to convey any really valuable information. It was not, therefore, until the late Dr. T. F. Dibdin entered on the subject in one of the best of his works, "*The Bibliographical Decameron*," published

⁹⁸ *The Bibliographical Decameron*, i. p. cxxxviii.

⁹⁹ *Paris*, 1729-1733.

¹⁰⁰ Sir John Froissart's Chronicles, Translated by Col. Thomas Johnes, *Hafod*, 1803-1810. 4to. 5 Vols. Chronicles of Enguerrand De Monstrelet, *Hafod*, 1809, 4to. 5 Vols.

in 1817, that it was made at all familiar or agreeable in anything like a comprehensive or a systematic form. The intention of that book was to convey, in a kind of bibliographical conversational-lecture, the Author's copious stores of information on Illuminated Manuscripts, Early English Typography, and Ancient Engraving, both on wood and metal. The plan of the work was a continuation of the conversations of the same characters in Dr. Dibdin's previous production entitled "*Bibliomania*," published in 1811; and the argument of the First Day was, "an account of some of the more ancient Manuscripts written in capital-letters; with a brief view of the progress of the Arts of Design and Composition in Illuminations from the Sixth to the Sixteenth century." The Author soon found this to be a subject requiring such extensive research, and connected with such copious stores of materials, that he reserved the printing of his First Day to the close of his work, and paged it with Roman numerals. In the 225 pages, however, of which it consists, he has brought together such an amount of information relating to the writing and painting of manuscripts, and of bibliographical history connected with the subject, as had never been made available before: and, notwithstanding the almost extravagant levity of the language, a very great quantity of literary history is imparted by this book.

All the finest specimens of Illuminations thus produced by Dr. Dibdin, to illustrate the characteristic progress of Art as developed in decorated Manuscripts,—were executed in the most finished manner, in stippled or line engravings, by some of the best artists of the period. This process, however, was so costly, as to oblige the author to state that "if these embellishments, which are only beautifully, but faithfully, engraved, in the First Day of this work, were as faithfully coloured, I am not sure that *Seventy Guineas* would cover the expenses incurred in the completion of the said First Day." But the style of engraving adopted in this publication, almost positively precluded many of those specimens from being effectively illuminated, at any expense whatsoever: and, at the time, no better method of producing such illustrations was known than the ordinary process of colouring prints by hand.

This is usually exceedingly unsatisfactory in copies from fine illuminations; and when Dr. Dibdin is noticing the painted impressions of the tract describing The Bedford Missal he says—"these I have always considered as the sorriest representations possible of the originals. Who, of the modern sons of men, could successfully imitate the delicate hues, the radiant colours, and the dazzling gold of this wonderful volume? The attempt would be either folly or madness."¹⁰¹ Such an attempt, however, has been successfully made by means of the process of Chromo-Lithography: but previously to giving any account of the wonderful specimens of illuminating which it has produced, we must notice some other important publications connected with our principal subject, which for the most part appeared before that invention had been perfected.

In the year 1806 was commenced that very valuable collection of French antiquities entitled *Monumens Inédits François*, by M. NICOLE XAVIER WILLEMIN, an antiquarian artist and engraver,—which was completed in 1839 by M. André Pottier, in two volumes folio. It contained many well-executed copies taken from fine illuminations, extending from the Tenth to the beginning of the Sixteenth century; including a few specimens of ornamental-borders. These examples were etched, shaded with aquatint, and carefully coloured by hand; and most of them were very carefully and beautifully executed. The whole work consisted of 50 Livraisons, containing 300 Plates of French Antiquities of the Middle-ages.

Another very copious French collection of the reliques of ancient Art which should be noticed in this place, is M. SEROUX D'AGINCOURT'S "*Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens, depuis sa Décadence au I^{Vième} siècle, jusqu'à son Renouvellement au XV^{Ième};*" originally published at Paris in 1823, in six volumes folio. Between 1826 and 1830 it was translated into Italian and produced both at Prato and Milan; and in 1847, the Italian plates were printed in London, with an English text. The third part of this work is appropriated to specimens of Painting, which comprise a number of outline copies of miniatures taken from manuscripts.

¹⁰¹ The Bibliographical Decameron, 1. p. xxiv. cxxxviii.

There is still another extensive publication of French Antiquities, in which are included many coloured specimens taken from Illuminated Manuscripts; though they are in general very indifferently drawn and coloured. This is M. ANDRÉ DU SOMMERARD'S work entitled "*Les Arts au Moyen Age*," which was published between the years 1838 and 1846, in 126 Folio livraisons of Plates, and 5 volumes of text in octavo. It was commenced principally for the illustration of the collection of Antiquities in the Hotel de Cluny; but was subsequently extended to include a considerable number of specimens of the Arts from other sources. Some of the copies of illuminations are taken from fine originals, but they are not drawn with sufficient care and accuracy to make them either interesting or beautiful; and the colouring, whether printed or by hand, is very imperfectly executed. They have, however, a certain value as sketches of genuine paintings from manuscripts, preserved as materials for superior artists.

In 1833 MR. HENRY SHAW, F.S.A., completed his interesting collection of Fac-similes called "*Illuminated Ornaments selected from Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, from the Sixth to the Sixteenth Century*;" the descriptions to which, with the introduction, were supplied by Sir Frederick Madden of The British Museum. This meritorious work was really the first attempt made in England to produce an entire and a distinct publication on the subject of Illuminations; and the Forty examples which it contains, are in general both fine and characteristic specimens of their several periods. They are drawn and engraved with great accuracy and feeling: much of the colouring was executed by hand, with opaque tints; and gilding was effectively introduced in the large-paper impressions of Mr. Shaw's publication. There are also several interesting and beautiful specimens of Illuminations contained in two of Mr. Shaw's other works entitled "*Dresses and Decorations of the Middle-Ages*," completed in 1843, in two volumes; and "*The Decorative Arts, Ecclesiastical and Civil*," published in 1851.

When M. André Pottier completed Willemin's "*Monuments Inédits Français*," in 1839, he states that the outline-plate from

the noble portrait of Francis I., attributed to Dutillet, was delivered in that imperfect condition to the subscribers, after several ineffectual attempts had been made to colour it like the original. It was reserved, he says, for the Comte De Bastard to produce a copy of this fine miniature in all its magnificence, by the aid of such powerful resources as were altogether wanting to M. Willemin, and by processes which in his time had not an existence. If Dr. Dibdin also had survived to the present period, with his acuteness of taste and his faculties unimpaired, he must have felt convinced that nothing but the Art of Chromo-Lithography could ever, at any expense, produce such wonderful copies from Illuminated Manuscripts as those published by MM. De Bastard, De Viel Castel, Silvestre, F. Seré, and Curmer, in France; and by Messrs. Owen Jones, Noel Humphreys, Hanhart, Grüner, Day and some others, in England. It is to Mr. OWEN JONES, however, that the honour is due of having made the first great effort for the production of a fine work in Chromo-Lithography in this country, in the publication of his elaborate and splendid Drawings from the Palace of Alhambra, originally commenced in 1836 and finished in 1845, in two volumes folio. It will be seen also that he has assisted in the execution of the best specimens of illumination which are enumerated in the descriptive catalogue of the finest of these volumes given at the end of this Lecture, in completion of the present bibliographical narrative.

The general principles of the Invention by which these specimens are executed, have a considerable claim to antiquity; the process being, in the abstract, a series of repeated printings of different forms and colours, somewhat like the patterns impressed on paper-hangings or floor-cloths. There have been several attempts to make this process available for the production of copies from drawings and paintings, from the Sixteenth century down to the present time. In 1754 John Baptist Jackson published his "*Essay on the Invention of Engraving and Printing in Chiaro-Oscuro, as practised by Albert Durer, Hugo da Carpi, etc.*;" and in 1822 William Savage brought out his "*Practical Hints on Decorative-Printing.*" In both of these works, the illustrations

were executed by a series of impressions taken from engraved wooden blocks of different forms, in different colours, printed upon each other until the intended effect was produced. The process in Chromo-Lithography is substantially the same; but in *that* the paper receiving the impression is laid down on the level surface of a stone, instead of being folded over the unequal face of a block, which is in some parts much lower than others. Instead also of the perpendicular action of the type-press, the stone is carried horizontally under a bar of wood, which presses equally over the whole surface, causing the colour with which the stone is charged to be uniformly distributed on those parts where it is intended to fall. There is, of course, a separate stone employed for every distinct colour and shade of which the subject may consist; and those parts which require to be gilded, are printed first in a thick oil, and then covered by a German bronze-powder of the proper tint being scattered upon them. When they are dry the superfluous metal is forcibly brushed away, and the print is pressed until a lustrous gloss is given to the gold. A very ingenious adaptation of this process has been also used in France, for the execution of such subjects as required a peculiarly bright azure; by the grounds being first printed in an ordinary blue, and ultramarine in powder being then scattered over the wet surface.

It is not our intention, however, to pursue any farther the process of Chromo-Lithography; our object being merely to shew that it is the only style of Art by which any vivid, or even accurate, notions of fine Illuminated Manuscripts can ever be conveyed to those persons as are never likely to see the originals. The Lithographic process which has been employed for producing copies from such volumes, belongs to that principal branch of the Art which Senefelder called "the Elevated Manner;" and to the second and third subdivisions of that section, which comprise transfers or tracings of the subjects represented to the surface of the stone, finished either with a pen and lithographic-ink, or with the same ink made into a crayon. By the Elevated Manner, M. Senefelder means to express that "all those parts of the stone that are covered by a greasy ink, resist the action of the acid

poured over the whole surface of the stone, by means of which the other parts of the surface become corroded: they stand therefore higher than the latter, as elevated from the plane surface of the stone." This is the inventor's own explanation of the great general principle of Lithography. The pen-style of the Art imitates most accurately every species of writing and printing; and therefore all the most characteristic specimens of Paleography may be represented by it with equal truth and beauty. But the miniatures in illuminations are produced by the lithographic-crayon; on a "stone that is only roughly polished, so that its surface resembles rough drawing-paper:—the impressions from such a stone, instead of clear and distinct lines, will exhibit a number of points, coarser or finer according to the degree of force used in the drawing; which will have nearly the same appearance as French-chalk on paper."¹⁰² Mr. Noel Humphreys refers to this very valuable process in the account prefixed to his copy of an Illuminated Venetian Diploma. "It has been the means," he says, "of producing such an imitation of the original, as could be executed in no other way;—more particularly the stipple, or dotted finishing of the flesh of the infant, which reproduces the miniature, not only in its outline and general effect, like a coloured print, but, to a great extent touch for touch, the handling as well as the composition."¹⁰³

With these notices of the application of some of the greatest improvements in the Art of Lithography, to the production of the finest copies of Illuminated Manuscripts,—our attempts to illustrate the subject in a familiar manner are at length concluded. A descriptive list of the principal of those publications closes this work, by which the opening of the first Lecture and the conclusion of the present, are brought together in a very remarkable contrast. At the commencement of our Paleographical review, we described single volumes produced with great labour, and with the rarest skill and ability, by a few individuals, at the

¹⁰² A Complete Course of Lithography, by Alois Senefelder. Translated from the Original German. 1819. 4to. p. 201, 203, 228.

¹⁰³ Illuminated Books of the Middle-Ages, Plate xxxvi.

greatest expense of time and payment. We saw the rich and solemn drawings on "the paper-reeds grown by the water-brooks" of Egypt, delineated for the mummy-coffins of her princes and wealthiest inhabitants ;—and the golden-lettered columns of the manuscripts of the luxurious Byzantine Emperors. The original expense of executing these works, would, if known, probably be incredible. But we have concluded our examples by shewing that almost perfect copies of the same manuscripts, with some of the most beautiful works of later ages, can now be produced at a price, which half a century since would have been thought equally beyond belief.

We have to add only, that if the length to which these Lectures have extended should appear to be greater than was required by such an exclusive subject,—we may answer that *it is illustrated in this manner for the First time* ; and that we were therefore especially desirous that these Essays should be made worthy of being produced by THE LONDON INSTITUTION.

A CATALOGUE
OF
BOOKS AND MEMOIRS
RELATING TO THE
ILLUMINATIONS OF THE MIDDLE-AGES,
OR ILLUSTRATED BY COPIES FROM
ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS :
AND ALSO OF
MODERN PUBLICATIONS
DECORATED WITH MÆDIEVAL ORNAMENTS.

Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française qui comprennent l'Histoire de France, avec les Figures de chaque règne que l'injure des temps à épargnées. (De l'Origine des François jusqu'à Henri IV.) Par Dom. BERNARD MONTFAUCON. *A Paris, 1729-1733.* Folio. 5 Volumes.

Prospectus d'un Essai sur l'Art de Vérifier l'Age des Miniatures Peintes dans les Manuscrits—proposé par Souscription par l'Abbé JEAN JOSEPH RIVE. Paris, 1782. 12mo.

Essai sur l'Art de Vérifier l'Age des Miniatures Peintes, dans les Manuscrits depuis le XIVième siècle jusqu'au XVIIième. Vingt-six Tableaux, peints et rehaussés d'or. Par l'Abbé J. J. RIVE. Folio.

The descriptive text of this Essay has never yet been printed, but M. Champollion-Figéac states that the materials of it are preserved with the papers of the Abbé Rive. Copies of the work are of uncommon occurrence, and Brunet notices one of the vellum impressions, with written descriptions, being sold in London in 1790 for £56. 14s. The copy in The British Museum on paper produced £37. 16s. at the Towneley Sale in 1814, and that in the Library of Mr. Ralph Willett of Merly was sold in 1813 for £25. 4s.

The Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England: containing the Representations of all the English Monarchs from Edward the Confessor to Henry VIII. together with many of the great persons that were eminent under their several reigns; on Sixty copper-plates engraved by the Author: the whole carefully collected from ancient Illuminated Manuscripts. A new edition, to which is now added a Supplement containing Twelve Plates. By JOSEPH STRUTT. *London. 1793.* 4to.

Horda Angel-cynnan: or a compleat view of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, etc. of the Inhabitants of England, from the arrival of the Saxons to the present time: with a short account of the Britons during the government of the Romans (with 157 Plates copied principally from Illuminated Manuscripts). By J. STRUTT. *London. 1775, 1776.* 4to. 3 Volumes.

A complete view of the Dress and Habits of the People of England, from the establishment of the Saxons in Britain to the present time: illustrated by Engravings taken from Drawings in Manuscripts coeval with the times that they are intended to illustrate, or other monuments of antiquity equally authentic. By J. STRUTT. *London. 1796, 1799.* 4to. 2 Volumes.

Glig-Gamena Angel-Theod: or the Sports and Pastimes of the People of England: including the Rural and Domestic Recreations, May-games, Mummeries, Pageants, processions, and pompous spectacles, from the earliest period to the present time: illustrated by Engravings selected from ancient paintings, in which are represented most of the popular diversions. By J. STRUTT. *Lond.* 1801. 4to.

There were copies of these last two works printed on large paper, with coloured plates.

Sir John Froissart's Chronicles, newly Translated from the best French Editions, with variations and additions from many celebrated manuscripts. By THOMAS JOHNES. Illustrated with Sixty Engravings. *Hafod*, 1803-1805. 4to. 4 Vols.

In the Advertisement prefixed to this esteemed version of Froissart, it is stated that "the Engravings are traced from the finest Illuminations, in our own libraries and in those of France." There were 25 impressions of this publication printed in folio, with double sets of the plates, one of which was coloured, and the copy in the Library of Sir M. M. Sykes sold for £52. 10s.

The Chronicles of Enguerrand De Monstrelet, Translated from the most approved originals, with notes, by T. JOHNES. *Hafod*, 1809. 4to. 5 Vols.

This excellent version was illustrated with Fifty-One Engravings executed in outline by H. Moses, also taken from paintings in valuable manuscripts. Of this work likewise there were 25 copies printed in folio, with duplicate plates, one set of which was coloured under the inspection of Colonel Johnes.

The Hystory of Arthur of Lytell Brytayne, Translated out of Frensshe into Englishe by the noble Johan Bourghcher, Knyght Lorde Berners. A new edition, edited by E. V. Utterson. *Lond.* 1814. 4to.

To this re-impression of a very popular romance, there was attached a series of outline Engravings copied from Illuminated Drawings, some copies of which were coloured; and in the Twenty-five largest paper they were printed in colours and heightened with gold.

Illuminated Ornaments selected from Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, from the Sixth to the Seventeenth century. Drawn and Engraved by HENRY SHAW, F.S.A., with Descriptions by SIR FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., F.R.S., Assistant-Keeper of the Manuscripts in The British Museum. *Lond.* 1833. 4to.

This work was originally commenced in 1834, and published in Twelve parts; some copies of which were printed on Imperial-quarto paper and heightened with gold. It contains Forty plates. Mr. Shaw also produced some very beautiful fac-similes of Illuminations for Part I. of the Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in The British Museum published in 1834.

Librairie de Jean De France, Duc De Berry, frère du Roi Charles V. publiée en son entier pour la première fois, précédée de la Vie de ce Prince: illustrée de plus belles Miniatures de ses Manuscrits, accompagnée de notes bibliographiques, et suivie de recherches pour servir à l'Histoire des Arts du Dessin au Moyen-Age. Par le COMTE AUGUSTE DE BASTARD. *Paris*, 1834. Folio.

Only 32 Plates of this very fine publication were issued, with the Memoir of the Duke De Berry, when the design was given up and the ensuing splendid collection commenced; in which were re-produced some of the illustrations intended for this interesting catalogue. In both of these works the illustrations are printed in colours and gold by the most perfect process of Chromo-Lithography. The very great value of the Duke De Berry's Library, and the superb specimens of illuminated books contained in it, have been already noticed on page 97 of the preceding Lectures; and the subject is also more copiously treated in the text attached to Plates cxcv. cxcvi. of Silvestre's *Paléographie Universelle*. Each of the volumes of the Ducal Library is identified by an inscription, technically called an "*Ex Libris*," executed by Nicolas Flamel, an excellent scribe and *Libraire Juré* of Paris; who was employed by the Duke to write these titles in his manuscripts.

Peintures et Ornaments des Manuscrits, classés dans un Ordre Chronologique, pour servir à l'Histoire des Arts du Dessin, depuis le IV^{ème} siècle de l'Ère Chrétienne, jusqu'à la fin du XV^{ème}. Par le COMTE A. DE BASTARD. Paris, 1835-1843. Folio. Livraisons I-X.

It is stated by M. Aimé Champollion Figéac, that each livraison of this splendid production is charged 1800 francs, and that the whole expense of every copy will exceed 100,000 francs. If the design should ever be completed, the work is intended to consist of a series of geographical sections, exhibiting the characteristics of the Illuminations of various countries; but only that relating to France is now in the course of publication. This division is designed to extend to 23 livraisons, containing 160 plates, with three volumes of text, each decorated with 100 vignettes engraved in outline. There has not been any part of this text issued at present. Some of the specimens of Illuminations already published are of almost incomparable beauty; especially those from the Hours of the Duke De Berry, the Building of Troy-Town, and the superb Portrait of Francis I. attributed to Dutillet.

Specimens of the Early Poetry of France, from the time of the Troubadours and Trouvères to the Reign of Henri Quatre. By LOUISA STUART COSTELLO. Lond. 1835. 8vo.

This volume is decorated with Four coloured and gilded copies of historical miniatures taken from Manuscripts of the Fifteenth century copied by the Authoress.

Paléographie Universelle: Collection de Fac-Similé d'Ecritures de tous les peuples et de tous les temps; tirés des plus authentiques Documents de l'Art Graphique, Chartes, et Manuscrits, existant dans les Archives et les Bibliothèques de France, d'Italie, d'Allemagne, et d'Angleterre, publiés d'après des modèles écrits, dessinés, et peints, sur les lieux, par M. J. B. SILVESTRE; et accompagnés d'Explications Historiques et Descriptives par MM. CHAMPOLLION-FIGÉAC et AIME CHAMPOLLION, Fils. Paris, 1839-1842. Folio: 4 Vols.

As the design of this extremely beautiful publication was to illustrate the history and practice of the Art of Writing, in all ages and nations, the introduction of illuminations and miniatures is only incidental, as such decorations might occur in the specimens selected; but in the whole series those examples are both numerous and interesting, as well as faithfully and beautifully executed. In respect of the scrupulous fidelity with which the ancient writings have been copied from the originals, and also their number, excellence, and variety, Sir Frederic Madden affirms that "no other publication which has hitherto appeared can be said to be its equal." He rightly adds, that it would have obtained a far wider circulation in the libraries of individuals, had it not been limited by the high price at which it was originally brought out; for it was first issued in 51 livraisons, at 30 francs each. Some time after its completion, it was offered by the Author in a second subscription, divided into Eight Geographical Sections, each of which might be procured separately, at prices varying according to the number and expense of the illustrations. As the work was published in the first instance without any order or arrangement, some discrepancies or inaccuracies were almost unavoidably to be found in the descriptive text; and it is therefore probable that the following English Translation of it, in which those errors have been carefully rectified, is to be preferred to the French original. Simply as a work of literary reference, without the plates, it is undoubtedly much more convenient. A number of different artists were employed to engrave M. Silvestre's fac-similes, MM. Patin, Girault, Lallement, Lepelle, etc., and the Chromo-lithography was executed by M. Engelmann.

Universal Paleography: or Fac-similes of Writings of all Nations and Periods, copied from the most celebrated and authentic Manuscripts in the Libraries and Archives of France, Italy, Germany, and England, by M. J. B. Silvestre: accompanied by an Historical and descriptive Text and Introduction by Champollion-Figéac and Aimé Champollion, Fils. Translated from the French, and Edited, with corrections and notes, by SIR FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., F.R.S., Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts in The British Museum. Lond. 1850. 8vo. 2 Vols.

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Le Chemin du Salut : Prières, Hymnes, et Cantiques de l'Eglise ; en Couleur et en Or. Paris. 8vo. L. Curmer.

This publication may be regarded as the precursor of the many works which began to appear about the year 1845, decorated with illuminated ornaments, and printed in the form of the manuscript books of prayers of the Fifteenth century. It was issued weekly in 77 livraisons at 2 francs each, consisting of two specimens, executed in M. Engelmann's Chromo-lithography with great neatness and accuracy ; but the size of the pages was too small, and the illuminated borders were in general too much of the ordinary kind, for the collection to be regarded as of any great value as a series of fine or characteristic specimens.

Illuminated Illustrations of Froissart selected from the Manuscript in The British Museum. Illuminated Illustrations of Froissart selected from the Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale, Paris, and from other sources. By HENRY NOEL HUMPHREYS. Lond. 1844, 1845. Quarto.

This interesting series of ancient historical miniatures was originally published in 24 numbers at 3s. 6d. each, in illustration of an octavo reprint of the Translation of Froissart's Chronicles by Colonel Johnes, published in 1839 in 2 volumes 8vo. The whole series of Illuminations consists of 72 divided into two sections, and to every subject is attached a page of text containing a description of the event represented. Although these plates are exceedingly valuable as coloured representations of the original pictures, they are far from being such fine examples of copies of illuminations as many others enumerated in this catalogue ; since they are in part only executed in chromo-lithography, much of their colouring being indifferently executed by hand. The most beautiful specimen taken from an illuminated Froissart, is that contained in M. Silvestre's *Paléographie Universelle*, Plate cxcix, also from the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale.

The Illuminated Calendar and Home-Diary for 1845. Copied from the "Hours of Anne of Brittany," in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. Edited by HENRY NOEL HUMPHREYS. Lond. (1844.) Imperial octavo.

Several particulars relating to the very fine Manuscript from which this Calendar was taken, have been given on pages 24 and 98 of the preceding Lectures. It is regarded as the *chef-d'œuvre* of the famous Illuminator Jehan Fouquet of Tours, and was probably executed about the year 1499, on the marriage of Anne of Bretagne with Louis XII. of France. The published copy of it consists of a title ; 12 large miniatures representing the rural employments of the several months, in connection with the calendar ; and 24 pages of diary, ornamented on the margins with some of those fine specimens of painted flowers on gold grounds, for which the original manuscript is especially celebrated. The figure-subjects were coloured by hand ; but the flower-borders were printed entirely at the lithographic-press of Mr. Owen Jones : and this publication must be regarded as one of the earliest English efforts to re-produce fine specimens of ancient art by mechanical means. The original price of this volume was £2. 2s. Another copy of this Calendar is announced for publication as one of the additional specimens of paintings from mediæval manuscripts to be given in M. Curmer's Illuminated edition of Marillac's Translation of the Imitation of Jesus Christ.

The Illuminated Calendar for 1846. Copied from the "Hours of the Duke of Anjou, King of Sicily and Jerusalem," now in the Bibliothèque Royale, Paris. Lond. (1845.) Imperial octavo.

It was designed by the proprietors of the preceding publication, that a similar volume should appear annually, and the present was accordingly the second, but also the last, of the series. In respect of exhibiting a beautiful copy of a very fine Calendar of the Fourteenth century, of the best style of genuine illumination in France, this volume was much superior to the former ; and it is supposed by Mr. Noel Humphreys to have been executed for the Duke of Anjou about the year 1380, after he had assumed the title of King of Jerusalem, when other fine works of a similar kind, were executed for him. Like the Home-Diary of 1845, this annual also consisted of a title and 12 historiated pages, with miniatures and calendars for the several months, executed in the manner of a genuine manuscript, and 24 blank pages for a diary. The general ornaments of the margins consisted of the light and graceful bracket of the Fourteenth century, enriched with branches of ivy, bearing gilded and coloured leaves with birds. In the historiated pages there is introduced a series of figures representing a graphical religious allegory, which is also to be found in other illuminated books of the period. Beneath

each of these pages are painted two figures, one representing a Prophet of the Old Testament, and the other an Apostle of the New Testament, each being designated by his name. To the former are attached scrolls inscribed with some passage from their prophecies, and on the labels held by the latter are the several sentences traditionally attributed to each of the Apostles in the formation of the Creed. Each of the Prophets is drawn standing by a stately temple-like edifice, supposed to be symbolical of the Old Law, and every one is delivering a stone from it to the Apostle beside him; thus gradually taking down the building, until, in the page for December, it is altogether laid in ruins. The Apostles are represented each of them as seizing the mantle of the Prophet who is standing by him. At the upper part of each page are delineated the Zodiacal signs, the supposed progress of the sun over the earth, and a small group of figures representing St. Paul preaching to his gentile converts, with the doctrine which he is delivering written on a scroll. Behind the Apostle is a castellated building, from the turrets of which an angel is holding a triangular pennon, charged with a figure emblematical of some principle of the Gospel. This volume of the Illuminated Calendar was also originally published at £2. 2s. like that for 1845.

The Illuminated Books of the Middle-Ages: an account of the development and progress of the Art of Illumination, as a distinct branch of Pictorial Ornamentation from the IV. to the XVII. century. By HENRY NOEL HUMPHREYS. Illustrated by a series of Examples, of the size of the originals, selected from the most beautiful manuscripts of the various periods, executed on Stone and Printed in Colours by OWEN JONES. Lond. 1844-1849. Folio and Quarto.

Although this splendid volume cannot be regarded as equal in magnificence to the work of the Comte De Bastard, it is a most meritorious and successful effort to produce a similar publication in England executed by the same process and at a moderate expense. It contains 39 very fine examples of Illuminated Manuscripts of various ages and countries, excellently drawn, coloured, and gilded, derived from both British and Foreign Libraries, arranged in a systematic order, with copious descriptions, and an introductory sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Art of Illumination. The work was originally published in 13 Parts in Quarto at 12s. each, and in Folio at £1 1s.; and the large-paper impressions, in which the illustrations are not folded, is an extremely stately and beautiful volume.

Palæographia Sacra Pictoria: being a series of Illustrations of the Ancient Versions of the Bible, copied from Illuminated Manuscripts executed between the IV. and the XVI. centuries. By J. O. WESTWOOD, F.L.S. Lond. 1843-1845. 4to.

Illuminated Illustrations of the Bible, copied from select Manuscripts of the Middle-Ages. By J. O. WESTWOOD. Lond. 1844, 1845. Small 4to.

Though the principal object of the first of these works was to represent the *Writing* of the Manuscripts referred to, yet the number of Illuminated Ornaments and Paintings connected with those fac-similes is very considerable, and comprise many very interesting examples. The descriptive text also is copious, and full of valuable information, and the Palæographical matter constitutes the most important part of the work: but in both of the publications noticed above, the copies from the finest illuminations are inferior productions in respect of drawing and colouring. *The Palæographia Sacra Pictoria* originally appeared in 11 numbers at 8s. each, altogether containing 50 plates; and the *Illuminated Illustrations of the Bible* was issued in 11 numbers, at 3s. 6d. each, comprising 33 plates. Some of the latter are copies of very characteristic paintings, and with reference to pictorial art, they form the superior book; but the descriptive notices of the specimens are too short to furnish much valuable information.

The Sermon on the Mount: Gospel of St. Matthew. Illuminated by F. Lepelle De Bois Gallais.

There are neither date nor place given in this very delicate little production to indicate when or where it was originally produced. It consists of 32 leaves of fine thin vellum, measuring only 3½ inches by 2½; the dimensions of the panel containing the text being 2½ inches by 1½. The ground of each page is covered with silver, and the text is inscribed on it in small black gothic minuscules, with red lines, and scarlet Roman initials on gold grounds. Though most of the borders are beautiful, and all of them are exquisitely finished, they do not accurately represent the style of illuminations of any period; but they approach the nearest

to the paintings contained in the small Italian or Flemish books of Offices of the Sixteenth century. The borders are composed of rustic patterns formed of branches, with plants, fruits, or flowers, richly painted on coloured or gilded back-grounds; in some of which are introduced animals or human figures; and in each there is also a small compartment containing either a view or a miniature chiefly of a sacred subject. This beautiful little manual appears to have been produced partly by the chromo-lithographic process, finished with the most careful and delicate paintings in opaque colours, by the hand of the original artist. At a sale on July 24th, 1857, these illuminated leaves were sold for £21.; but the Catalogue states that M. Lepelle originally received £100 for the work. He was one of the artists employed by the Comte De Bastard and M. Silvestre.

The Sermon on the Mount: S. Matthew v. vi. vii. Intended as a Birthday-present, or Gift-book for all seasons. Printed in Gold and Colours, in the Missal-style, with ornamental Borders by OWEN JONES. *Lond.* 1844, 1845. Square octavo. Two editions, each published at £1. 1s.

The Parables of our Lord: Richly Illuminated, with appropriate Borders. Printed in Colours, and Black and Gold, by OWEN JONES. *Lond.* 1846. Square Octavo. Also published at £1. 1s. in binding imitative of the carving of the Sixteenth century.

A Booke of Christmas Carols, with Illuminated Borders from ancient manuscripts in The British Museum, and Four Miniature Pictures. *Lond.* 1846. Square 12mo.

There are 24 borders in this beautiful publication, taken from the margin of Italian Illuminated Manuscripts of the Sixteenth century of nearly the same size as these pages, all of which are both drawn and printed with great feeling and accuracy. The large miniatures inserted in the volume consist of the Annunciation, the Angel appearing to the Shepherds, and the Wise Mens' offering, all of which are extremely well executed in colours and gilding. The original price of these Carols was £1. 5s.: the binding was a very beautiful imitation of gold brocade.

The Good Shunamite, II. Kings, Chapters iv. viii. With Six original designs by A. Klein, and an Ornamental Border to each page in the missal-style. *Colophon*: "This Book was completed for Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, the last day of October, in the studio of LEWIS GRÜNER, in the Year of our Lord M.DCCC.XLVIII." Square 12mo.

The Borders and Initials of this very elegant little volume, are drawn and printed with great accuracy and beauty, in the florid style of the early part of the Fifteenth century, with gilded leaves and coloured foliage. Nor are the original designs out of harmony with the character of the book, being composed in the simple hard manner of the early Italian school; but they want richness of colouring and hatchings with gold to make them resemble ancient illuminations. This book also was published in an imitative carved binding, at £1. 1s.

The Miracles of our Saviour: with Illuminated Figures of the Apostles from the Old Masters; Six Illuminated Miniatures, and other embellishments. By OWEN JONES, the Illuminator of the Parables. *Lond.* 1848. Square octavo. Published in imitative carved covers at £1. 1s.

A Record of the Black Prince: being a selection of such Passages of his Life as have been most quaintly and strikingly narrated by Chroniclers of the period. Embellished with highly-wrought Miniatures and Borderings selected from various Illuminated Manuscripts referring to events connected with English history. By HENRY NOEL HUMPHREYS. *Lond.* 1848. 8vo.

The text of all the preceding works is written in gothic characters in Lithography, but in this volume it is printed in Old English type, in black and red letters; and the miniatures were taken from a very fine copy of Froissart's Chronicles. The book was published at £1. 1s. in a carved and pierced binding.

Maxims and Precepts of the Saviour: being a selection of the most beautiful Christian precepts contained in the four Gospels, illustrated by a series of Illumination of original character. *Lond.* 1848. Square octavo. Published at £1. 1s. In a rich binding, ornamented in the style of the celebrated "*Opus Anglicum*" of the Tenth and Eleventh centuries.

The Song of Songs, from the Holy Scriptures: being the first Six chapters of the book of "The Song of Solomon;" richly Illuminated in the Missal-style by OWEN JONES. *Lond.* 1848. Imperial sextodecimo. Published at £1. 1s., in a binding of rilievo-leather.

Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher: from the Holy Scriptures: being the Twelve chapters of the book of Ecclesiastes; elegantly Illuminated in the Missal-style by OWEN JONES. *Lond.* 1848. Imperial Octavo. Published at £2. 2s. in a carved binding.

The Art of Illuminating and Missal Painting, a Guide to Modern Illuminators. Illustrated by a series of Specimens from richly Illuminated Manuscripts of various periods, accompanied by a set of Outlines, to be coloured by the student according to the theories developed in the work. By HENRY NOEL HUMPHREYS. *Lond.* 1849. Square Octavo.

In every respect this small volume is an extremely beautiful production; from the delicate though brilliant ornament on the cover, throughout the whole of the specimens of manuscript-paintings with which it is illustrated; and the elegant manner in which the letter-press is adorned and executed. There are 13 examples of Borders and Miniatures, exhibiting the universal early Saxon style of Art, which prevailed from the Fifth to the Eighth century; the Franco-Gallic style of Charlemagne; the style of the Byzantine school; the style which Mr. Humphreys is inclined to consider as the true "*Opus Anglicum*," supposed to have been practised in England only," in the Tenth and Eleventh centuries; and the varied styles prevailing in England, France, Flanders, and Italy, from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth centuries. All these specimens have been most accurately reduced and adapted to the small dimensions of the volume in their true proportions; and the colouring and gilding are printed with the greatest exactness and beauty. From those illustrations also, which represent the same subjects delineated in a most careful and feeling outline, the student of this Art may learn both the right way of drawing illuminations before painting them, and the value of such exact drawings. It has been already observed in the Second of these Lectures that this volume must not be regarded as a book of practical instruction; the intention of it being only to shew the principles on which the specimens are composed, and the manner in which they may be tastefully varied, and adapted as modern decorations. Mr. Humphreys' work was published at £1. 1s.

Elementary Instruction in the Art of Illumination for Missal-Painting on Vellum: with Illustrations for copying by the student. By D. LAURENT DE LARA. *Lond.* (1850.) 12mo. The Second Edition considerably enlarged. *Lond.* 1857. Square Octavo.

The illustrations of this very small tract, consist of Four chromo-lithographic prints of borders and initial-letters, with the same subjects repeated in outline; and the principal intention of its publication appears to have been to lead the reader to a teacher or to assist a pupil. It was originally published by Messrs. Ackermann, at the price of six shillings, as a kind of companion to their "Chromographic Colour-box for the use of Illuminators." The author states also, that he had prepared a variety of drawings of initial letters and ornaments, with outlines, on vellum and card-board, which may be either bought or hired of the publishers. At the end of the Second edition of this work there is an announcement of "A Treatise on the Art of Illuminating and Missal-Painting: a sequel to the Author's Elementary Instruction in Illuminating; with an Introduction to the Art of Chromo-Lithography: illustrated by a series of Specimens from Illuminated Manuscripts of various periods; accompanied by a set of Outlines to be illuminated by the student."

The Origin and Progress of the Art of Writing: a connected narrative of the development of the Art, its primeval phases in Egypt, China, Mexico, etc., its middle state in the Cuneatic-systems of Nineveh and Persepolis, to its introduction to Europe through the medium of the Hebrew, Phœnician, and Greek systems, and its subsequent progress to the present day. By HENRY NOEL HUMPHREYS. *Lond.* 1853. 8vo.

Though this work is professedly a Palæographical treatise, it contains several interesting and well-executed specimens of fine Illuminated Initial-letters and Borders, which may be advantageously referred to by modern illuminators. The whole number of plates is 23, and the volume was published at £1. 1s.

Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint-Ésprit au Droit Désir, ou du Nœud, institué à Naples, en 1352, par Louis D'Anjou, Premier du Nom, Roi de Jerusalem, de Naples, et de Sicile: Manuscrit du XIVième siècle, conservé au Louvre dans le Musée des Souverains Français: avec une notice sur la Peinture des Miniatures, et la description du Manuscrit. Par M. le COMTE HORACE DE VIEL-CASTEL, Conservateur du Musée des Souverains Français. Paris, 1853. Folio.

Colophon. Cet ouvrage, sur les Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Ésprit au Droit Désir, ou du Nœud, à été commencé à Paris, au mois d'Aout, de l'Année M.DCCC.L.III., et terminé au mois de Novembre, de l'Année M.DCCC.L.IV., par les soins, et d'après les Procédés-Chromo-Lithographiques, de Messrs. Engelmann et Graf, Rue de l'Abbaye, No. 12; sous la direction scientifique de M. le Comte Horace De Viel-Castel, d'après les Dessins-Fac-simile de Messrs. Schultz et Racinet, fils; Executés sur Pierre par M. H. Moulin; avec la co-opération Typographique de M. Jules Claye pour le Texte."

As a complete copy of a manuscript of extraordinary magnificence, this volume is a production of the greatest beauty and merit. It consists of 17 fac-simile pages of text written in gothic minuscules, surrounded by the richest borders and most elaborate miniatures, executed with surprising accuracy and splendour by the artists mentioned in the explanatory colophon. In the miniatures are illustrated all the dresses, ceremonials, and statutes of the new Order, from the foundation down to the obsequies of deceased knights, so ingeniously indented into the most intimate connection with that part of the text to which they refer, as to shew that, in this manuscript at least, the illuminator directed the scribe. The pages of the volume measure about 14 inches by 9 to the extremity of the borders; and it commences with a large painting representing the Holy Trinity, surrounded by Angels, beneath which are whole-length kneeling effigies of Louis of Anjou and his Queen Johanna. The style of Art in the borders has something of a Byzantine character in the ornaments, but they are frequently enriched with small human figures, angels, birds, and animals, capriciously though gracefully introduced. In the composition and figures of the miniatures, the characteristics of the best paintings in St. Stephen's Chapel, with which they are contemporaneous, are remarkably observable. M. De Viel-Castel has attached to each plate a printed copy of the manuscript text, which he considers to be a sufficient explanation of them; and he has also given an historical account of the manuscript, of the royal personages for whom it was executed, and of the notices of it which have been already published. He does not, however, offer any conjecture as to the artists by whom these illuminations were executed, though it can scarcely be doubted that they were some of those retained by the Duke De Berry. This interesting work is rendered still more valuable by a dissertation on the Decoration of Manuscripts by Paintings, from which we have been enabled to illustrate our Second Lecture. The volume was originally published at 105 Francs.

L'Imitation de Jésus Christ, fidelement Traduite du Latin par Michel De Marillac, Garde-des-Sceaux de France: accompagnée de Quatre Cents Copies des plus beaux Manuscrits, Français et Etrangers du VIIIième au XVIIième siecle; un magnifique volume imprimé en couleur et en or, par MM. Lemerancier et Claye. Paris, L. Curmer, Editeur. 1856-1858. Imperial Octavo.

As a very extensive and beautiful collection of the richest and most characteristic Illuminations of the best periods, produced within moderate limits and at a moderate price;—this publication has never been excelled. When completed it is intended to consist of 50 livraisons, containing 400 pages of text with illuminated borders; published on the 10th, 20th, and 30th of every month at 3 francs 50 centimes each. These numbers, however, will comprise the *text* of the work only, which will be charged 200 francs; but there are also to be added Eight Appendices of extraordinary interest and splendour, already in the course of publication, consisting of the following subjects:—1. The Titles of the Service-books executed for the Chapel-royal of Louis XIV. in the richest Versailles-style of painting, and four Cartouche-frames from Dutillet's "*Recueil des Rois de France*." 2. A Table of Contents, with Illuminated Borders from manuscripts of the earliest period. 3, 4. The Calendar from the "*Heures*" of Anne of Bretagne; and Four very fine and large Miniatures from the same manuscript. 5. A Dissertation on the presumed Authors of the "*Imitation de Jésus Christ*" by the Abbe Delaunay; with Photographic Fac-similes of their Portraits, and that of Marillac the Translator, from

rare prints. 6. A History of the Decoration of Manuscripts by M. Ferdinand Denis, Conservator of the Bibliothèque de Sainte G  n  vi  , containing 200 engraved Initial-letters. 7. The celebrated Macabre Dance of Death, as drawn by Holbein, Hans Beham, and Jollat, comprising upwards of 200 subjects surrounding the text of that work. 8. An Illustrated Catalogue of the Manuscripts copied and referred to in the whole volume. With these additions the price of the entire publication will be 260 francs to the first subscribers and 330 to others.

M. Curmer has also announced on the covers of his livraisons, an edition of the "*Introduction to a Devout Life*" by St. Frances De Sales, the pages of which are enclosed by plain copies of some of the borders from the "*Imitation de J  sus Christ*," to be illuminated from those specimens. The numbers are published at 1 franc 50 centimes each, and there is a notice added that such as may be spoiled or lost can always be replaced.

MEMOIRS AND SEPARATE PAPERS.

A Description of the solemn Justs held at Westminster, the 13th day of February in the first year of King Henry ye viii. in honor of his Queen Katherin, upon the Birth of their eldest son Prince Henry, A.D. 1510. Engraved from an ancient Roll in the Heralds' College on Six Plates. *Lond.* 1726. Folio. *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. I. Plates 21-26.

Binae Tabulae Fragmenta quaedam Vetustissimi Exemplaries libri Geneseos, Picturis elegantibus ornatæ continentes: quæ, ex Domus Ashburnhamiæ incendis Thesauri Cottoniani jam tum conservatricis, erepta Oct. 23, 1731, in Museo Britannico ad huc reponuntur, exhibentes. Cum Dissertatio Historica in eundem Codicem. 1744. Fol. *Vetust. Monum.* Vol. I. Plates 67, 68.

A View of the Cathedral Church and Priory of Benedictines in Canterbury; with the Effigies of Eadwin, a Monk of that Convent, between the years 1130 and 1174; both Drawn by Himself: with a printed Account of the said Drawings. 1755. Folio. *Vetust. Monum.* Vol. II. Plates 15, 16.

An Account of an Illuminated Manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; by the Rev. Michael Tyson, F.A.S., Fellow of that College. Read to The Society of Antiquaries Jan. 16th, 23rd, 1772. *Archæologia*, Vol. II. p. 194-197.

Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Biblioth  que du Roi, de la Biblioth  que Nationale, et autres Biblioth  ques, publi  s par l'Institut de France. Tome I.-XIV. *Paris*, 1787-1841. 4to.

The Funeral-Procession of Queen Elizabeth, April 28th, 1603, from a Drawing of the time supposed to be by the hand of William Camden, then Clarenceux King of Arms, formerly in the possession of John Wilmot, Esq., F.R.S., and by him deposited in The British Museum. Drawn and Engraved by G. Vertue. *Lond.* 1791. Fol. *Vetust. Monum.* Vol. III. Plates 18-24, with 7 pages of descriptive text.

An Account of a rich Illuminated Missal executed for John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France under Henry VI. *Lond.* 1794. 4to.

This tract is usually attributed to Richard Gough, but it was really produced by the possessor of the manuscript, James Edwards, of whom Gough subsequently bought the plates. A copy with the plates printed on vellum and illuminated, was priced at  12. 12s. in Edwards' Catalogue for 1796.

Five Engravings by James Basire, from original Drawings on a Roll of Vellum, representing the Death, Funeral, etc., of John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, who died anno 1532; in the possession of The Society of Antiquaries of London: with a descriptive text. *Lond.* 1808. Fol. *Vetust. Monum.* Vol. IV. Plates 16-20.

An Account of some of the more Ancient Manuscripts written in Capital-letters; with a brief view of the Progress of the Arts of Design and Composition in Illuminated Manuscripts from the Fifth to the Fifteenth century, inclusively. By the Rev. THOMAS FROGNALL DIBDIN. *The Bibliographical Decameron*, First Day. Lond. 1817. 8vo. Vol. I. P. I-CCXXV.

This part of Dr. Dibdin's work is illustrated with 39 specimens of Illuminations engraved on copper, and 30 others executed on wood.

Translation of a French Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard II., written by a Contemporary, and comprising the period from his last expedition into Ireland to his death: from a Manuscript formerly belonging to Charles of Anjou, Earl of Maine and Mortain, but now preserved in The British Museum. Accompanied by prefatory observations, notes, and an appendix, with a copy of the original, by the Rev. JOHN WEBB, M.A., F.A.S. Read Jan. 14th, 1819. Illustrated by Sixteen Plates in outline from the Illuminations of the Manuscript, Drawn by H. Corbould and Engraved by J. Basire. Lond. 1824. 4to. *Archæologia*, Vol. XX. Plates I-XVI. Pages 1-423.

An Account of King Edward the Fourth's Second Invasion of England in 1471, drawn up by one of his Followers, with the King's Letter to the Inhabitants of Bruges on his success: Translated from a French Manuscript in the Public Library at Ghent. Communicated by EDWARD JERNINGHAM, Esq. F.S.A. Read April 13th, 1820. Illustrated by Four Outlines from Miniatures in the Manuscript. Drawn by C. A. Stothard and Engraved by J. Basire. Lond. 1827. 4to. *Archæologia*, Vol. XXI. Plates I-IV. Pages 11-23.

A Dissertation on St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, an Illuminated Manuscript of the Tenth century, in the Library of the Duke of Devonshire: communicated by JOHN GAGE, Esq. F.R.S. and Director S.A. Read Jan. 12th, 19th, 1832. Illustrated by Thirty-two Plates in outline, Drawn and Engraved by G. F. Storm. 4to. *Archæologia*, Vol. XXIV. Plates I-XXXII. Pages 1-117.

This excellent paper has been repeatedly referred to in the preceding pages, and the manuscript to which it relates is also described and illustrated in "*The Bibliographical Decameron*," vol. i. p. liv-lxii., and in Mr. H. Noel Humphreys' "*Illuminated Books*," plate vii. Mr. Gage's Dissertation contains a very valuable communication from Mr. W. Y. Otley comprising the remarks of Sign. Trombelli on the Illuminations in Greek and Latin Manuscripts of the Tenth and three following centuries.

A Description of a Benedictional, or Pontifical, called "*Benedictionarius Roberti Archiepiscopi*," an Illuminated Manuscript of the Tenth century, in the Public Library at Rouen: communicated as an accompaniment to St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, by J. GAGE, Esq. F.R.S., Director S.A. Read Feb. 9th, 1832. *Archæologia*, Vol. XXIV. Plates XXXIII-XXXIV. Pages 118-136.

There are two outline illustrations to this paper, Drawn and Engraved by G. F. Storm; and there is also a very fine coloured specimen from the same manuscript in Silvestre's "*Paléographie Universelle*," Plate CCXXVII.

An Account of Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Scripture-History: an Illuminated Manuscript of the Tenth century, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford: Communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Sec. S.A. Read April 12th, 1832. Illustrated by Fifty-two Plates in outline Engraved by J. Basire. *Archæologia*, Vol. XXIV. Plates LII-CIV. Pages 329-340.

The illustration of this series which is numbered cii. though unfinished and consisting of ornament only, is remarkably interesting, as probably indicating the manner in which the elder illuminators taught their assistants. It consists of a square regularly divided into a number of compartments, each being intended to contain an ornamental figure adapted to the space. All the different varieties of these figures are drawn in their respective panels near the centre of the square, and the remainder left blank; as if they had been intended for patterns to be copied by some junior artist in all the other vacant compartments.

A Letter to J. Gage, Esq. F.R.S., Director S.A. by WILLIAM YOUNG OTTLEY, Esq. F.S.A., on a Manuscript in The British Museum, believed by him to be of the Second or Third century; and containing the Translation of Aratus's Astronomical Poem by Cicero, accompanied by Drawings of the Constellations: with a Preliminary Dissertation in proof of the use of Minuscule-Writing by the ancient Romans, and a corrected edition of the Poem itself, including Ten lines not heretofore known. Read Febr. 13th, 1834. Illustrated by Twenty Fac-simile Plates of Writing and Illuminations executed by G. F. Storm. 4to. *Archæologia*, Vol. XXVI. Plates IV-XXIV. Pages 47-214.

Remarks on Alcuine's Bible in The British Museum, and on other Manuscript Bibles which claim to be of the same period: By SIR FREDERIC MADDEN. 1836. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. VI. New Series. Pages 358-363, 468-477, 580-587.

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